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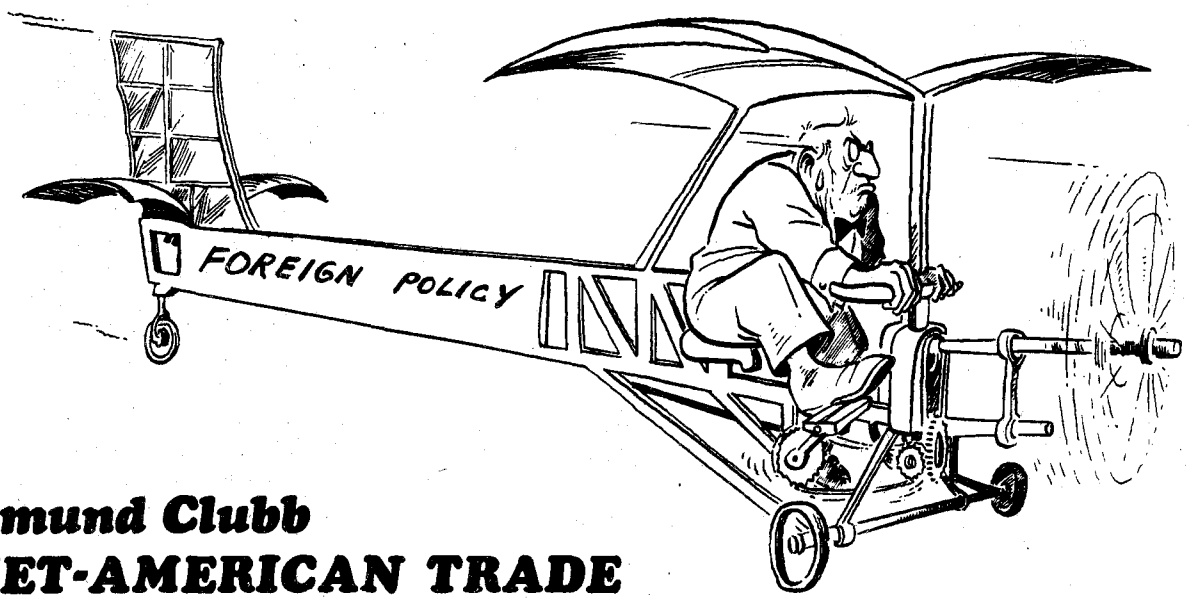

O. Edmund Clubb

SOVIET-AMERICAN TRADE

Can't We Do Anything Right?

Selling M.I.T.

THE IRANIAN URANIUM CONNECTION

James Kohl

Israel: A Clear and Present Commitment

JUDITH M. HUGHES and H. STUART HUGHES

CHRISTINA STEAD

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LETTERS

a good use for prisons

Princeton, N.J.

In your interesting discussion of how to "punish" and "police" the giant corporations which have poured millions of company funds into the corruption of our political process [editorial, "The Other Government," *The Nation*, Mar. 29], it seems to me that you have omitted one effective method: prison. It is now generally accepted that the penal system has nothing but negative effects on the deterrence of crime and on the old hope of "rehabilitation" of most kinds of convicted criminals. But none of these considerations would seem to apply to these ultra-white-collar-supercriminals of the corporate world.

The disgrace and loss of civil rights involved in a stiff prison sentence for these "respectables" would, it seems obvious, have a truly deterrent effect on their peers. And . . . if a president of American Airlines or Braniff or Ashland or Gulf Oil came out of stir as an accomplished second-story man, safe-cracker or mugger, would the society be worse off than if he went back to the executive suite?

Blair Clark

we were warned

Arlington, Va.

Dwight Eisenhower warned about it in his farewell address, but we still haven't learned our lesson—the military-industrial complex continues to grow and grow. Now, thanks to Michael D. Edwards' "Golden Threads to the Pentagon" [*The Nation*, Mar. 15], we find that the defense industries don't own only the souls of military personnel but often buy their bodies as well.

If this weren't enough, we have Robert Musil's "The Pentagon Moves In" [*The Nation*, Apr. 5] showing that once the Defense Department has bought these men, they aren't content just to bomb and napalm schoolhouses in Southeast Asia but are embarking on a propaganda war in our schools here at home.

I can predict what's next: a less than subtle move by the Pentagon to convert our churches into PXs—and at the public expense.

It's a good thing *The Nation* and its writers like Mr. Musil and Mr. Edwards keep revealing these atrocities. . . .

Karen Natalies

soap and schooling

Rapid City, S.D.

When many publications, and this would include many Church (Catholic) ones, are dodging certain very serious issues and problems in our nation and in the world, *The Nation* is dealing with them fairly, courageously and intelligently. Some of the things that are said in your editorials are simply great and good. I am referring to the one on Rockefeller on Dec. 21 and the one on justice for the powerful and the powerless on Mar. 8. Articles on amnesty, etc., are very good and much appreciated.

I work with the Sioux (Lakota) Indians here in Rapid City and of course we come up against the system—economics, jail, due process, public schools, banks, County Poor Relief, etc. And naturally when I read *The Nation* I am happy about what you are doing and we feel that you support us in our work. For this we are grateful.

We have been working with the public schools lately and at times this can be very discouraging. In many cases the parents are way ahead of administrators, teachers and counselors in our public school system. There have been damn few significant changes in the schools even after the 1960s; in fact, the schools here never went through the 1960s. . . .

As Mark Twain said years ago: "Soap and schooling [he did not say education and learning] are not as sudden as a massacre, but they are just as deadly in the long run."

Just want to let you know that I like what you are doing in *The Nation*. . . .Who knows, maybe some bishops and pastors will begin to read your magazine.

James V. O'Connor, S.J.
The Mother Butler Center

Cover drawing: Vadillo, Siempre (Mexico)

EDITORIALS

Operation Self-Deception

Sen. Henry Jackson, until recently a hawk of hawks, is convinced that "secret agreements" induced the Thieu regime to acquiesce in the Paris "peace" agreement. As a first reaction, the Administration tried to brush the charge aside; then it conceded that "private exchanges" had occurred along the lines of public statements by Kissinger and Nixon. Apparently Thieu was encouraged to believe that aid would be continued and that we would "react vigorously" to any violation of the accords by the North. A cursory examination of the Kissinger-Nixon public statements made at the time does not, however, rule out the possibility that there were additional and more specific assurances. Thus far, the Administration has declined to release these "confidential exchanges" and the Senate foreign Relations Committee is now seeking to obtain them. It is, of course, part of the Administration's contention that the issue became moot when Congress cut off further aid in August 1973.

So Jackson has initiated a new controversy, and it is certain to be as counterproductive as the crude attempts by Kissinger and the President to blame Congress for the debacle in Indochina. The fact is that this country's actions in Vietnam have been based on self-deception—and executive deception of the public—from the beginning of our involvement. Again and again, Pentagon wizards-in-uniform offered bland assurances that the South Vietnamese could "hack it," knowing that these assurances were what Washington wanted to receive. As part of this elaborate exercise in obfuscation, we invented a scenario to account for our presence in Vietnam and to justify our ruthless pursuit of a totally mistaken policy.

So of course there may well have been "secret agreements." Does that really surprise Senator Jackson? Thieu did not want to accept the accords; that much was evident at the time. But he was hard-pressed by Kissinger and Nixon, who were being hard-pressed by the public to end our involvement on almost any terms. Thieu did not have much choice. No doubt, he was told that the U.S. Air Force and Navy would stand by to intervene should it become necessary; his statements stress his reliance on assurances of American air support. But he could hardly have been deceived; he is known, for example, to have disliked and distrusted Kissinger even then. Whatever his shortcomings, he is not naive and has himself some agility with the double cross. He knew, for example, that Congress might not approve further aid indefinitely; also that popular anger was mounting in this country at the folly of squandering good money in a bad cause. But, puppet that he was, he had no choice but to accept the risk.

What he did not anticipate was the ouster of Richard Nixon, who had a carefully cultivated reputation for ferocity and unpredictability. Indeed, if it had not been for Watergate, who knows what Nixon's reaction might have been? It might have been "vigorous"; more likely he would have gone along with Kissinger in dumping the puppets of South Vietnam. The Paris agreements were never thought of as providing more than a "decent interval" and a way to secure the release of the prisoners and the return of Ameri-

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can combat troops. Deception had been a hallmark of Richard Nixon's political career. He betrayed his most loyal supporters when he journeyed to Moscow and Peking. Recently he spoke in glowing terms of the late Chiang Kai-shek, but he had no compunction in betraying this "giant" for whom he had long expressed a degree of admiration bordering on political fealty. Indeed, one of the reasons many Americans voted for him in 1968 was their notion that "Tricky Dick" might be just the man to extricate us from a war that had turned both burdensome and abhorrent.

The leadership of both major parties obviously had neither the brains nor the courage to acknowledge that a catastrophic mistake had been made. That track—the open acknowledgment of error and a determination to correct it—was, or seemed to be, closed. So if self-deception got us into the mess, perhaps an artist in deception could get us out. The fraud of "Vietnamization" was simply a part of the elaborate process of verbal trickery by which we elected to cut our losses and get out without conceding that our intervention had been a disastrous mistake. In a word, we opted for self-deception and, not surprisingly, deception became the Kissinger-Nixon game plan.

At the time, few really cared what means were used or what "assurances," "secret agreements" or "commitments" were made—if only we could tell ourselves that we had put the war behind us. To suppose that he is oblivious to this background would be a reflection on Senator Jackson's intelligence. If "secret agreements" are in fact disclosed, they should surprise no one, least of all a Democratic Senator who long enjoyed a particularly close relationship with the Nixon administration. It is impossible to prettify this record of duplicity, but at this late date we should have had enough of scapegoating and similar mechanisms of self-deception, including a souped-up flurry of moral indignation about "secret agreements" as a counterploy. Former Under Secretary of State George W. Ball is right: we should "stop the breast-beating" and "stop the search for scapegoats"; there is enough blame for everybody, including Senator Jackson, to have a share.

Trip to Mongolia

Ulan Bator

For almost three years the U.S. State Department has been holding secret talks with Mongolian officials at the United Nations concerning normalization of relations between the two countries. Wedged between the feuding Chinese and Russians, Mongolia has grown in geopolitical importance in recent years, sometimes being called a "buffer zone" between the two powers, or a "listening post" on the China frontier. With a population only slightly more than a million, it occupies a land mass equal to Britain, Spain, France and Portugal combined.

But so far there have been no breakthroughs in American-Mongolian talks; diplomatic relations are not in sight. The United States has never had official ties with the Mongolian People's Republic since it was founded in 1924, and one may wonder if there can be huge problems between these two countries, so far apart geographically. The answer of course is no. Not only are there no great issues between Washington and Ulan Bator but they have rarely

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been specifically at odds, or even had many contacts in the last fifty years.

The State Department informs anyone who's interested that it gave the Mongols a set of proposals for the establishment of diplomatic ties, but that they have not replied for about two years. Thus it seems at first glance that the Mongolian Government is to blame for the stalemate. However, the American proposals contain some pretty stiff "conditions." Washington demands unrestricted travel for its diplomats in the MPR, a condition which the State Department probably knows cannot be met, and which merely postpones normalization indefinitely. Another "condition" is that the Mongols must provide forthwith a spacious embassy building.

Since the terms set by the Americans are virtually impossible for the Mongols to accept, one may suppose that the United States puts a rather low priority on diplomatic relations with Ulan Bator. There is also the question of whether the barriers that were erected in the past—and are occasionally still stumbled upon—were merely pretexts for maintaining the *status quo*. One alleged problem was that Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang regime claimed suzerainty over Outer Mongolia. Another was that Mongolia was completely manipulated by Moscow, and thus had no voice of its own. Another was that the Soviets disliked the idea of a U.S. embassy in a location as "sensitive" as Mongolia. The transparency of many such arguments, now as before, ought to be apparent.

To be fair, finding a suitable American embassy in Ulan Bator, while it seems a picayune issue, is indeed a problem. Large untenanted buildings are scarce and so are skilled workmen. But other countries have been much more modest in their demands. When the British established relations with Mongolia in 1963 their embassy was first quartered in the Hotel Ulan Bator, where the French embassy is located today. And some Western ambassadors in Moscow are also accredited to Ulan Bator. The American demand for unrestricted travel is less defensible. A country that borders on China and the USSR is certain to place some of its territory "off limits" to visitors, especially areas near the frontiers.

In 1970, U. Alexis Johnson, then Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, told me that no "insuperable problems" existed between Washington and Ulan Bator. Mongolian and U.S. diplomats, he said, frequently mingled at cocktail parties. In a recent ninety-minute interview at Government House here, Dr. Dondogyn Tsevegmid, who speaks with authority as vice chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers, clearly implied that Washington was responsible for the delay. Mongolia wished to have relations with America on terms of "equality, respect for sovereignty and mutual advantage," he said, adding that his country now has diplomatic ties with more than seventy nations and is a member of more than sixty international bodies, including the U.N.

There is a bit of irony in Mongolian-American relations, such as they are. Recently, several State Department men have been studying the Mongolian language at the University of Leeds, in England. The leading Mongolist at Leeds for many years has been Owen Lattimore, who got very shabby treatment in his own country during the McCarthy era.

Albert Axelbank

Subsidized Role Playing

The editors of *Advertising Age*, who like the idea, say public issue advertising—the kind Mobil and others use to tell us what they want us to believe—enables a company "to take on the role of a committed, serious, credible citizen." We doubt very many are fooled by these performances. Yet, in addition to despoiling the media landscape, they cost consumers a tidy sum annually. Since the ads are rationalized as commercial image-builders, the Internal Revenue Service permits deduction of their costs as business expenses.

Rep. Robert Drinan (D., Mass.) has introduced legislation to end government subsidy of oil company propaganda. A co-sponsor of the bill, Benjamin Rosenthal of New York, notes that it "in no way inhibits the oil companies from placing the ads; it simply eliminates their tax deductibility." Congressional supporters might consider extending the bill's provisions to all industries, thus making them equal with private citizens who are forced to pay nondeductible money to advertise their views.

Haldeman vs. the Hornets

Charlotte, N.C.

The legal machinery of the American Civil Liberties Union, which has been sounding a little like a cash register since its recent Mayday-Payday victory (when a Washington, D.C. district court awarded damages of $12 million to 1,200 demonstrators arrested on the Capitol steps in 1971), may be about to ring up yet another lucrative verdict for dissident victims of Nixon administration paranoia.

On April 21, a federal court here is scheduled to begin hearing testimony in a civil suit against H.R. Haldeman, the U.S. Secret Service, three former White House advance men, the Charlotte city police and several other private individuals who are charged with depriving twenty-two members of the "Red Hornet Tribe" of their civil rights. The suit, being handled by George Daly, Jr., a local attorney affiliated with the state ACLU, asks for damages of $1.3 million—$60,000 apiece—for Red Hornets who were kept out of, or ejected from, an October 1971 rally honoring evangelist Billy Graham, at which President Nixon appeared.

In the course of the festivities, more than 100 legitimate ticket holders to the event were pushed, shoved, jostled, slapped or bodily heaved by an array of anonymous-looking men in business suits, wearing a variety of lapel pins, badges and armbands. Among those roughed up were longish-haired young fundamentalists, the daughter of a local judge, three employees of a radio station (owned by the Chamber of Commerce president who had thought up the rally), a veteran of Vietnam who wore a beard only to cover the scar from a facial wound, and the Governor himself.

More than 30,000 free tickets had been distributed for the 12,500 seats in the Charlotte Coliseum. At the door, anyone with a sign, button, armband, blue jeans, hair below the collar, beard, rimless glasses, granny dress, etc., was ruled by some official to have a counterfeit ticket (known around the White House as the "fake ticket routine") and refused entry. In addition to the Secret Service

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and Charlotte police, who rarely needed any prompting to slap longhairs around, White House advance men recruited a squad of beefy thugs from the ranks of the VFW and local GOP, put armbands reading "marshal" on them and turned them loose. The results, had anyone thought to consider them, were predictable.

The *Charlotte Observer* (which had endorsed Nixon in 1968) thundered that the event was "little short of outrageous" and, noting the shoving of the Governor, said "the degree of discourtesy with which he was treated was extraordinary." They concluded stiffly: "This is not a banana republic." But there was little such huffing and puffing on the part of the Red Hornets, a zany conglomeration of aging hippies, yippies and speed freaks, fond of making serious political points by way of humorous antics. By then well used to the discourtesy of Charlotte officialdom, they knew what to do: they found themselves a good lawyer and marched into federal court.

U.S. District Judge James McMillan, known primarily for his bussing decisions, listened to the evidence and, on July 31, 1973, handed down a 60-page ruling (entitled "The [Not So Funny] Things that Happened to the Plaintiffs on the Way to the Coliseum") which declared that the Red Hornets, among many others, had been "abused, manhandled and excluded . . . without apparent just cause or excuse." He called the affair "A wholesale assault on the civil rights and liberties of numerous citizens, in violation of the First, Fourth, Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments." The two operative sections of McMillan's ruling were that the Secret Service was henceforth forbidden to exclude dissidents from Presidential appearances (barring actual threats of violence) and that the plaintiffs were entitled to bring suit in federal court for financial damages.

By a near-novelistic coincidence, at the Senate Watergate hearings in Washington the very next day, Sen. Lowell Weicker waved under the nose of H.R. Haldeman a White House memo, dealing specifically and in detail with White House plans to exclude all dissidents from the Billy Graham Day rally. Haldeman, whose initials and enthusiastic comments ("good," "great") appeared prominently on the document, was added to the list of defendants in the Charlotte civil suit. Subsequent digging by *The Washington Post* turned up the fact that Haldeman had sent John Dean to Charlotte after the civil suit was filed to advise one of the defendants to keep his mouth shut.

Frankly, things don't look too promising for Haldeman, et al. In fact, the defendants will be represented in the courtroom by six different lawyers (all private), including one (for the insurance company that bonds the Charlotte police department) who has already filed a cross-complaint against the Secret Service for recovery of any damages found against the Charlotte police in this trial. To make things perfectly clear, none of the defendants is now denying having done anything the Red Hornets say they did; but they all claim they were just following the orders of one or more of the other defendants. In other words, they're accepting responsibility for what happened, but not the blame. Does that sound familiar?

Then, of course, there is Judge McMillan, who will be presiding over the jury trial for damages. His injunction against the Secret Service was merely the latest in a series of strongly worded court orders and decisions protecting the civil liberties of all kinds of dissidents from arbitrary hassles on the part of local law-enforcement bodies. As early as 1969, he enjoined the same Charlotte police department from harassing some of the people now suing the department, saying: "Whether the public or the court or the police like or do not approve of 'hippies' is immaterial. Hippies, like more conventional householders, are entitled to the protection of the Constitution and the court would be remiss if it allowed the length of a man's hair or the thinness of his purse to affect the measure of his civil rights."

George Daly, the Hornets' attorney, is very good, as his previous defenses of the rights of hippies and black activists before Judge McMillan indicate. So good that when Haldeman came to Charlotte in August to give deposition in the case and was met outside the law offices by a raucous delegation of Hornets—buzzing in the fashion that has become their trademark—one of the plaintiffs, Marvin Sparrow, gleefully warned Haldeman to "watch out for my lawyer, he's tricky."

Mark Pinsky

'On a Clear Day . . .'

So Mary Bralove began an article in *The Wall Street Journal*, describing the breath-taking view from the office window in mid-Manhattan through which Eli Black, chairman of United Brands, crashed to his death on February 3. Surveying Black's career, Bralove concluded that his suicide had been caused by the tensions of conflicting worlds: of business and the social-intellectual issues that so deeply concerned him.

Now we have a clearer view, so to speak, of why Black leaped. *The Wall Street Journal* has disclosed that United Brands admits having last year paid an official of Honduras a $1.25-million bribe to win concessions on that country's tax on bananas. It also agreed to pay another $1.25 million this year. Black must have known of and approved these payments, as well as the $750,000 that went to certain Italian officials. The SEC has filed suit, charging United Brands with failure to disclose the bribe payments to its stockholders and with juggling its books to keep the payments secret. According to widely circulated reports, the bribe money was intended for Oswaldo Lopez Arellano, President of Honduras.

The disclosures have, of course, been of sensational interest in Honduras and throughout Central America. In Honduras, a commission has been named to investigate the allegations, which the President denies. An attempt was made, for a time, to keep a lid on the SEC investigation, if only because of the effect it was likely to have on U.S. foreign policy. The "spillover" will be substantial: seventy U.S. corporations have some $230 million invested in Honduras: 85 per cent of all foreign investments there, according to the *Journal*. For United Brands, the disclosures will have serious consequences. The improper payments were made out of corporate funds. No U.S. statute makes it a crime for an American corporation to bribe foreign officials but, under the laws of Honduras, the bribes were doubtless illegal. And if United Brands has engaged in such practices, what might the books and records of other multinational corporations show if properly investigated?

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Already Sen. Frank Church has announced that a subcommittee will investigate the charges against United Brands and at least one other American corporation.

United Brands is a $2 billion multinational foods concern, the successor to United Fruit Co. which had been known for years as *el pulpo*, the octopus. But under Eli Black's direction, the corporation undertook to improve living and working conditions for its many employees. It offered free housing and electricity and built schools and hospitals. In 1970, Black personally negotiated on behalf of the company's lettuce subsidiary—Inter Harvest Inc.—a contract with Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers. But although the company was widely praised for its new policies, it was not quite as "progressive" as some reports made it out to be. "United Brands," reported Penny Lernoux ("The Great Banana War," *The Nation*, June 29, 1974), "is doing just as it always has—showing those long tentacles, only now it is with a smile, a very big smile." Writing of United Fruit, Desmond Smith pointed out in these pages ("The Great White Empire," June 8, 1970), that "after a few more years of watching a disproportionate share of their foreign earnings being repatriated to the United States, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, Colombia, Ecuador and Costa Rica may well do some converging on their own. Should that happen, United Fruit would be left with nothing but its Great White Fleet and the Chiquita trademark." This was written before Black took charge but it foreshadows what happened. Black tried to bring the company's labor policies into a closer convergence with the corporation's interests, but in the meantime the banana republics did some converging on their own. It must have been on such matters that Black's thoughts were riveted—and not on that breath-taking view—on the clear day when he took his life.

A CLEAR AND PRESENT COMMITMENT

JUDITH M. HUGHES and H. STUART HUGHES

The current American rhetoric of berating Israel for unwillingness to make further concessions to the Arabs is both ethically repugnant and intellectually vacuous. It not only implies that we may force the Israelis to bend; it also rests on little beyond a pious hope that concessions might produce a fissure in Arab unity or induce one or more of Israel's enemies tacitly to renounce a belligerent stance. Reasoning such as this is painfully reminiscent of the lectures addressed by the British and the French to the Czechs in 1938.

The American commitment to Israel has always been exclusively moral (in the proper usage of that currently much-degraded term). The periodic efforts—in Washington and Jerusalem alike—to link it to the national security of the United States have only confused the issue by, among other things, suggesting mistaken parallels to a mistaken policy in Vietnam. Our commitment to Israel was a direct result of the Nazi policy of extermination and of nothing else. When after 1945 we refused to open our doors to massive Jewish immigration, we acquired a responsibility to protect the survivors of the holocaust in the one refuge they could find.

The key to a settlement in the Middle East lies now, as in the past, not in Cairo but in Moscow. Direct negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union offer the sole hope for an agreement that will dispel Israel's real concerns and not merely buy time. Two decades ago, after the death of Stalin and the advent of more rational leadership in Moscow, we should have told the Soviet policy makers that the security of Israel ranked at the very top of our foreign policy commitments. We should at that time have tried to make a realistic deal with the Russians that would have induced them to refrain from arming Israel's enemies. But we allowed the opportunity to pass, and in the years that have intervened, our bargaining position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union has notably weakened.

Perhaps the damage is even now not irreparable. Opportunities still exist in Europe, which has always been the Russians' primary focus of interest—they never gave a high priority to Vietnam. So now it is incumbent upon us to see whether there is any *European* initiative we might take that could offer a plausible *quid pro quo* for the Soviet Union to desist from arms shipments to the Arab world.

Such an initiative would be the removal of our tactical nuclear weapons from Europe's soil. Would this step constitute a major and excessively dangerous change in the European balance? What would its effect be on our European allies? The answer to both questions is: not so great as is commonly supposed. The lack of Western reaction to the Soviet occupation of Prague in 1968 confirmed what we already knew from the experience of the previous decade—that the West Europeans had long ago accepted the fact of Soviet domination of the East. Still more, German *Ostpolitik* and corresponding moves on the part of the French have suggested that our European allies agree with the Russians that mutually beneficial contacts make a resort to force unnecessary and irrelevant. In short, the West Europeans have proved capable of taking care of themselves. By demonstrating that the Soviet Union can obtain through peaceful means what it really wants—trade agreements and technological aid—they have for the most part rid themselves of the old fear of invasion from the East.

The fact that our European allies gave no help in the Yom Kippur war of 1973 not only dealt a deathblow to NATO as an arm of American foreign policy; it also

Judith Hughes is a specialist in European diplomatic history and the author of To the Maginot Line: The Politics of French Military Preparation in the 1920's. *H. Stuart Hughes's most recent book is* The Sea Change: The Migration of Social Thought, 1930-1965.

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marked the emergence of Western Europe as a *de facto* neutral bloc. The removal of tactical nuclear weapons would simply carry this process a step farther. In the current jargon of international affairs, it might eventually result in the "Finlandization" of Europe—and therein would lie its appeal to the Soviet Union.

Such a reduction of the American military presence would doubtless provoke an outcry both here and abroad, along with the charge that we were "selling our allies down the river." But the arguments for that presence have long since lost their rationale and become little more than a mental reflex. We need to balance the *possibility* of a slight increase of long-range hazards in Europe against the *probability* of a marked decrease of immediate dangers in the Middle East. When the question is posed in this fashion, the choice seems clear.

SELLING M.I.T.

The Iranian Uranium Connection

JAMES KOHL

The Great Iranian Uranium Connection—M.I.T.

Presented by Chi Epsilon, Civil Engineering Fraternity, dedicated to engineering ethics; An open forum for discussion of the issues by the M.I.T. community; Friday, 14 March 1975; Room 26-100; 3-5 P.M.

Boston

So read a poster in one of this Institute's interminable complex of corridors (there are 35.5 miles of them). As an ex-faculty member of what it likes to call "the community," I decided to attend the forum and observe both the issues and the constituency. My interest in the "Iranian Uranium Connection" was part of a continuing reconnaissance of this New England branch of the Pentagon (more than half of its budget is provided by the Department of Defense; theses are sometimes classified for security clearance), known for its success in the research and development of marketable technology.

Chi Epsilon's moderator began the forum by stating the fraternity's position: "We don't as a group hold any feelings." A few minutes after 3 P.M. the administration's representatives, including President Jerome Wiesner, joined the 300 persons assembled in Room 26-100 and M.I.T. began to discuss the issues involved in the probable sale of nuclear technology to Iran, the first "developing" nation to appear with cash in hand.

M.I.T.'s role is, at this writing, a small part of the Shah's grandiose nuclear scheme. He has earmarked $10 billion for the purchase and maintenance of ten nuclear reactors and to train the technologists to operate them. While M.I.T. will receive twenty-seven students (20 per cent of the total number of graduate students in its Nuclear Engineering Department), more than 250 other Iranian students will be arriving at nuclear engineering departments around the United States. The issue, therefore, is who, if anyone, has the right to make decisions of such magnitude?, and it is of national importance. This point was lost on many faculty and students present, and most of those absent, and it was predictable that it would be. An integral part of the "New American Mandarins" education is the acquisition of a technological perspective, more as an effect of socialization than by deliberate effort. The stress is on research and the development of technological *problems*; the more intellectually rigorous the problem, the greater its validity and importance. As professionals, engineers either ignore ethics or leave them to other specialists, specifically philosophers. But that hardly meets the issue at M.I.T. where a constant debate centers upon the Philosophy Department's exclusive devotion to analytic philosophy, which, it contends, is the only philosophy sufficiently rigorous and scientific to be worth scrutiny.

It was consistent, then, for M.I.T.'s administration spokesmen at the forum to ignore broader issues, and many listeners had to be reminded by one speaker from the audience that there was an external world which was also considering similar proposals. M.I.T.'s elite mentality quickly asserted itself in the opening remarks by Prof. Kent Hansen, acting chairman of the Nuclear Engineering Department. He said that M.I.T. had been approached by the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran "because it's the best in the world." He then added that he had returned so recently from Iran that he hadn't "had time to get my slides developed or I would show them." Hansen stressed that the Iranian students he had interviewed were both competent and civilized, although later remarks ("I only learned to say 'thank you' and 'cheers' ") would reveal obvious limitations of his capacity for judgment. On the question of curriculum, the chairman observed that the students would not take specific weapons courses, but could choose "plasma physics for electives." The bulk of the academic program is to include reactor physics, materials and heat transfer. Chairman Hansen said M.I.T. would closely monitor the program for "hidden effects."

In an interview given to *Tech Talk*, the Institute's official newspaper, Dean Alfred Keil of the School of Engineering revealed that the school's Center for Advanced Engineering Study would examine the Iranian program for "hidden effects." According to Dean Keil, the center "has long experience in administrating special graduate programs for engineers and scientists from U.S. companies and industries whose mid-career study programs for advanced degrees are *sponsored by their employers*" (my emphasis). Iran, the employer here, "has earned a worldwide reputation for farsighted planning" and "has chosen

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to develop a nuclear power industry in an orderly manner over the next two or three decades as a substitute energy source when oil is gone."

Obviously the Institute and I have differing concerns regarding the "hidden effects" of the Iranian program; but worse, M.I.T. is presenting the issue in purely business terms, with Iran a mere customer of technology. Finally, the dean stressed that M.I.T. would provide, formally, only the technology for nuclear reactor engineering. Plutonium separation, a requisite for nuclear weaponry, was outside the province of nuclear engineering (specifically, in the Departments of Metallurgy, Chemistry and Chemical Engineering). The dean also entertained lesser questions involving such issues as cost analysis of the program and bureaucratic issues (departmental politics within an institution comprised of a welter of jealous and competitive fiefdoms).

We are witnessing, then, not only a redefinition of international diplomatic relationships, as sub-imperial nations (e.g., Iran, Brazil) purchase nuclear technology, but the redefinition of the university as its resources are sold to those powers able to purchase them. This prospect is as inevitable as the democratization of the power of nuclear destruction, in itself a frightening concept.

Despite largely successful efforts at internal counterinsurgency, the Institute nevertheless has encountered resistance to "The Great Iranian Uranium Connection." In one of its best editorials in years, *The Tech*, the Institute's official student newspaper, noted M.I.T.'s refusal to entertain "discussion of the issues—nuclear proliferation, M.I.T.'s obligation to society, M.I.T.'s obligation to its own educational standards," and presented the moral argument against "Selling M.I.T.: Bombs for the Shah":

> A resounding "No!" from the community to the Institute's plans to train nuclear engineers for the Shah could, if M.I.T. is as influential in the scientific world as M.I.T. likes to keep telling itself it is, be a leading factor in forcing deeper consideration of the issues involved everywhere. In the meantime, M.I.T. can try to think of other, less reprehensible ways to make ends meet which will not involve the moral abdication implied by this plan.

Opposition within the M.I.T. "community" also extends to political issues, many of which have been raised by the Science Action Coordinating Committee (SACC). SACC was actively opposed in the late 1960s to the Institute's role in the development of military technology—both hardware (helicopter stabilization, sophisticated sensing devices, moving target indicators) and software (social scientific research and theory)—for the suppression of guerrilla warfare. The U.S. Government was the consumer of this technology as well as that for raising the stakes in the nuclear race (the MIRVs of the 1960s and MARVs of today).

A small student-faculty vanguard is now leading resistance to the sale of 1970s military technology. And again the opposition must first educate an audience to understand the issues involved. Only a handful of faculty attended "The Great Iranian Uranium Connection." The reason may be traced back to the Institute's efforts to influence student and faculty opinion from the late 1960s to the present. The results—narrower and less gifted students ("more turkeys," to quote an administration official) and fewer faculty (the Humanities Department, hotbed of resistance to the Second Pentagon, now bears a greater resemblance to the catacombs than to an academic department)—illustrate the administration's formula for dealing with political and budgetary problems in one stroke. The warriors who remain are weary; a decade of struggle, combined with the stifling atmosphere of alienation, has numbed critical sensitivity. Prominent spokesmen such as Noam Chomsky, Salvador Luria and Philip Morrison, who failed to attend "The Great Iranian Uranium" forum, are still active opponents of the new industrial state outside M.I.T.

In an academic leaflet, "Issues Raised by M.I.T. Training of Iranian Students in Nuclear Engineering," SACC objects that the Institute has been preparing in secret a deal which was only disclosed by *The Tech* on March 4 and presents the administration's "excuses" for its action: "It wasn't M.I.T.'s idea anyway so we have no responsibility for our actions"—"There is nothing sinister about providing a fanatic absolute dictator with uranium and engineers"—"They [the Iranians] are in desperate need for nuclear power despite being the second largest oil producers in the world."

SACC then rebuts each of the Institute's defenses: "The cause for alarm, of course, is the possibility of Iran using the materials and knowledge available to build nuclear arms—"Politically, the situation is ominous: Iran is under absolute dictatorship of the shah"—"No government in the world is more repressive, less principled, than that of the Shah, who has admitted on U.S. TV to unquestioned use of immediate execution to quench internal dissent"—"As the second largest oil exporting nation Iran is rapidly becoming a world power, and the Shah is very happy with his position . . . working full-time to prepare for his rise."

Given the above, SACC concludes that discussion of the Shah's use of nuclear technology lies not in the realm of possibility (which M.I.T. would concede) but in that of probability. The possibility of assisting a fanatical regime to create a weapon of incredible power is in itself unconscionable, but realistic assessment that such a result is probable makes the situation urgent. Iran will soon possess both of the prerequisites needed for membership in the nuclear club: technological expertise (courtesy of M.I.T. et al.) and the material (plutonium). A Boston television program (NOVA: Channel 2) recently featured a story of an M.I.T. undergraduate who had assembled a 37-page technical report demonstrating his ability to construct a nuclear bomb. The show's producer, John Angier, says the report "with instructions, forms, diagrams, everything," demonstrated "that it was frightfully easy to design such a bomb." Swedish scientists who evaluated the report concluded that there was a "fair chance" the model would work. Even a "fair chance" is frightening and the student, an undergraduate, is at present in hiding for fear of being kidnapped by "terrorists."

The plutonium issue raises one of the more interesting political relationships in nuclear technology. The technology of atomic weapons is more elementary than that of the hydrogen variety. Japan and a number of Western European nations have the requisite technological and material links to join the nuclear club, but have demonstrated no obvious political desire to do so. A number of

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other nations, notable for extreme authoritarian rule (Iran, Brazil, Spain, Nationalist China), are now exhibiting signs of such interest. At the heart of elementary nuclear weapons technology is plutonium, a rare element accumulated through the processing of waste from nuclear reactors.

As a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Shah has the right to process his own nuclear wastes from the ten reactors soon to be acquired. Iran will, therefore, technically achieve nuclear weapons capacity. An evaluation of this capability hinges on interpretations of the nature of the Iranian state from evidence of conduct and propaganda. The Shah, a self-admitted absolute dictator with a will to re-create the Persian Empire of his ancestors, stated on CBS's *Sixty Minutes* that he had executed two prominent writers, Khosrow Golsorklti and Iaramat Daneshian, while adding confirmation to six more victims. He came to power in 1953 through one of the better known CIA coups, and rules with a tyrannical will (assisted by Ambassador Richard Helms). The country's village population today subsists on an average per capita income of $200 (U.S.). Some 20,000 to 40,000 political prisoners (including Gholam Hussein Sa'edi, Iran's greatest modern playwright, and prominent social scientists and educators) are proof that Iran lacks democratic freedoms. The state's grandiose schemes for accretion of the Persian Empire are lost on the majority of the population (who as Kurds, et al., do not share the Shah's Persian chauvinism), but not on the Iraqi Kurds, or the Dhofar Liberation fighters, who face Iranian mercenaries and Omani troops.

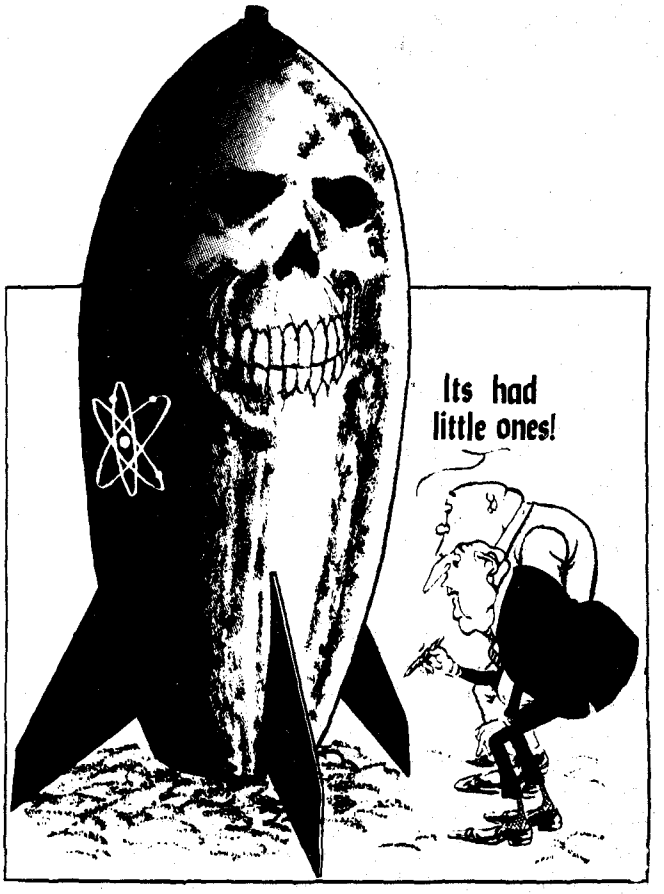
Given the Shah's probability of obtaining nuclear weapons, as suggested by the evidence, SACC addressed the institute's "last defense . . . academic freedom." Of all the issues to be entertained in the Iranian Uranium debate, this is:

> The most difficult, subtle and irrelevant, yet we must face it. It is to be faced sooner or later by science. In our world of books, ideas and problems that end at 5 P.M., the free interchange of ideas is regarded as an absolute value. We submit that the deal in question has nothing to do with the exchange of ideas—this is vocational training to prop up a repressive regime. Training of the nuclear technicians of an absolute dictator is quite opposed to the freedom to teach philosophical systems which differ from those prevailing (which people don't miss much), or the freedom of political or artistic expression. *The bearers of technology must censure themselves or eventually experience censure from without.* (SACC's emphasis).

Technology may indeed be too important to be left to technologists.

One recalls Kurt Vonnegut's *Player Piano* as Dr. Jerome Wiesner, president of M.I.T., former science adviser to John F. Kennedy and a moderate in Institute politics, responds to a question at "The Great Iranian Uranium Connection" regarding his role in this affair and his earlier role in developing the "electronic battlefield."

> *Wiesner*: In the automated battlefield all we were doing was trying to end the Vietnam War, *my way* (emphasis his). The issue is whether we want to make a grand moral play and exclude the [Iranian] students.
>
> *Vonnegut*: This book is not . . . about what is, but a book about what could be. The characters are molded after persons as yet unborn, or, perhaps, at this writing, infants. It is mostly about managers and engineers. At this point in history, 1952 A.D., our lives and freedom depend largely upon the skill and imagination and courage of our managers and engineers, and I hope that God will help them help us all stay alive and free.



Ulusehak, Edmonton Journal (Canada)

A student letter in *Thursday*, M.I.T.'s independent student newspaper, suggests that there is still hope. A junior engineering student writes of his "malaise" stemming from "this plan [which] borders on professional prostitution. . . . I have been taught and convinced that engineering and science are ultimately concerned with the needs of mankind." The letter is but a part of *Thursday*'s continued attack on the selling of the Institute which began in March with an exposé, "Iran Buys Course XXII" (Nuclear Engineering). *Thursday* then tried to wake the dead with a special issue, *Monday*, that featured coverage of a lecture by M.I.T.'s ex-student body president and ex-student revolutionary, Michael Albert, who had appeared to discuss "What Is To Be Undone" (from the title of his recent book). Albert had been expelled from the Institute for his militant politics and *Thursday* hoped he could spark some student interest in contemporary politics. Following issues of *Thursday*'s carefully choreographed opposition to the Iranian Uranium Connection included "Iran Sneak Attack," reporting the administration's attempt to rush faculty endorsement of the proposal, and "Faculty Comes Through," covering the news that a faculty coalition had successfully tabled discussion of the issue (for three weeks) and announcing the formation of a

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"Coalition Against Nuclear Training for the Shah." President Wiesner, however, contends that the faculty's position "will have no effect on the implementation of the Iran deal."

"Flash rumor—The Shah of Iran has offered M.I.T. a $2 million bribe to be made the Compton Lecturer!" (the Institute's prestigious annual faculty lectures), reports *Thursday*'s Scott Batterman. Earlier in his column, "Venom," Batterman speculates: "With Iran trying to buy the Nuke E. department, I've heard rumbles through the corridors about the possibility of a competitive bid entered by Saudi Arabia, while Spain is interested in picking up some good Chem. E. tools." Perhaps it's true? Just the other day (February 25) *Nuclear Weekly* reported that Brazil is buying up to eight West German nuclear power plants from the European Consortium, URENCO-CENTRIC.

What seems clear is that democratization of the technology for nuclear destruction is being extended to the wealthier of the "modernizing" countries previously associated with the capitalist-Western bloc. The diplomatic phase in which the United States controlled the Western arms trade, along with other policies (e.g., defense of the Central Highlands in Vietnam) appears a failure. What we now witness is the move by sectors of the new industrial state to capitalize on this reality. At the university level this formula expresses itself as subversion of the traditional idea of the university as "free" and "open." Academic resources have always been the preserve of those wealthy enough to purchase them (indeed that is the linchpin in the radical critique of education), but now at M.I.T. and other universities the situation may be so extreme as to destroy the traditional concept of the university—for the worst principled case: "Bombs for the Shah." □

ELK HILLS RIP-OFF

STANDARD OIL KEEPS POPPING UP

GEORGE L. BAKER

Washington

A lot of strange things are happening in the name of Operation Independence, the attempt to make the United States self-sufficient in energy by 1985. And one of the oddest is a plan to tap four petroleum reserves held in trust by the Navy since the 1920s.

It is natural enough for interest to focus on the reserves, particularly on Elk Hills in California and Pet 4 in Alaska. Elk Hills contains a minimum of 1.3 billion barrels of oil, all ready to be pumped out with a minimum of effort or expense. Pet 4, 23 million acres, contains 10 billion to 33 billion barrels. If the estimate is accurate, this field would dwarf the commercial Prudhoe Bay, lying directly east of Pet 4. The Navy's two other reserves, Teapot Dome in Wyoming and Buena Vista close to Elk Hills, hold too little oil to warrant much excitement.

Last year, at the height of the Arab embargo, Congress was all set to turn the reserves over to the oil companies to do with as they saw fit. The move failed because of the intransigence of the House Armed Services Committee, which passionately resists anything that faintly smacks of an attack on national defense. When they found their way blocked in one committee, proponents of exploiting the reserves conceived an end run. Why not transfer control of the reserves from the Navy to the oil-industry-dominated Interior Department?

Brushing aside warnings that a similar transfer in the 1920s had precipitated the infamous Teapot Dome scandal, the pliable House Interior Committee a few weeks ago reported out a bill so weak and carelessly drawn that it would give the Interior Secretary virtual *carte blanche* to decide how oil companies might make one of the richest land grabs in memory. Reposing control of the reserves in Interior would certainly assure production, for the department has one function—to give away the nation's natural resources—and it performs that admirably.

Yet, laudable as is the goal of increased domestic oil production, tapping the reserves for the purpose raises disturbing questions, some of which have hardly been given thorough scrutiny. For instance, given its record, how would the Interior Department structure bids to produce from Elk Hills? The normal government royalty for an unexplored field is from 10 to 16 per cent of the wellhead price of crude. But at Elk Hills the oil is spotted and ready to be produced. Navy witnesses testified that it costs less than $1 to produce a barrel of that oil, which can be sold by commercial oil companies for at least $10. How would Interior recapture what obviously is a huge public benefit? Various officials of Interior have said the department would ask for competitive bidding, but that doesn't mean much in the oil industry. Further, the bill, which is likely to be enacted soon, gives no guidelines as to how the bidding should be done.

Indeed, would Interior be able to get any competitive bids? There is a great deal of evidence to show that the major oil companies in California, led by the San Francisco-based Standard Oil Co., would continue to maintain their stranglehold on the access to and price of oil. Congress has paid scant attention to possible violations of antitrust law by some of the companies that would be either producing or purchasing oil from Elk Hills. The investigation, begun in 1970 by the U.S. Department of Justice, has only lately been revived after a dormant period that coincided with John Mitchell's reign. But those who are pushing for production at Elk Hills—including several otherwise knowledgeable Congressmen, such as Reps. John

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Melcher (D., Mont.) and Alphonzo Bell (R., Calif.) profess little knowledge of it.

Everywhere you turn Standard's name pops up. It owns 20 per cent of Elk Hills and when oil is pumped from there the company will make a substantial profit. At present, because the field is operated under a contract whereby Standard and the government pool their reserves, the oil company isn't able to get to its oil. If commercial production were authorized, it could do so.

While it is evident that a few oil companies would benefit by drawing on the reserves, it is a good deal less clear that the public or government would be enriched. Theoretically, the planned 300,000 barrels a day from Elk Hills would reduce dependence on overseas oil by that amount. But there are no assurances that the oil companies would not simply continue those imports and shut down other domestic wells—especially since imported oil fetches the uncontrolled price of $10 a barrel, as would oil from Elk Hills, while much of domestic production is still controlled at the "old" oil price of $5.25.

It seems to have occurred to no one that, rather than give the companies a huge parcel of public property, a more workable and equitable approach would be to use the reserves as a building block for a government-owned oil exploration and production company. That proposal has been kicking around Congress for several years and is gaining considerable strength. As it stands, the government merely acts as agent for oil companies that want to exploit a resource that belongs to everyone.

The concept of retaining for the government what belongs to it surely would be in the public interest, but in Washington these days little thought is given to public interest. Certainly it isn't a concept that would weigh heavily on the conscience of the Interior Department. For years, the Bureau of Land Management, an Interior agency, allowed private oil developers to poach oil from the edges of all four reserves; it has only recently halted the practice in response to rising protests.

In fact, the department is acting as if it already had the reserves in its grasp. It has plotted routes for the eyentual construction of a pipeline to carry oil from Pet 4, and it has established what it calls the North Slope Project in Palo Alto, to study the subsurface geology. Since most of Prudhoe Bay has already been explored, one can conclude that Pet 4, with its vast riches, is the center of its interest.

The Ford Administration has not exactly fronted for the Interior proposal, lest unkind parallels be drawn between it and the Harding administration, but it is clear that Ford's people are doing nothing to discourage the idea. Rather than move straight ahead, the President has chosen an oblique way to get at the reserves and to prod Congress into action. As part of his energy package, he has proposed the establishment of what he calls the National Strategic Petroleum Reserve, which would stockpile 1.3 billion barrels for commercial and military use in the event of another embargo. Oil would be stored in salt domes in Texas and Louisiana and in steel tanks to be constructed throughout the country. Some people haven't taken to the idea. Rep. Otis Pike (D., N.Y.) said it sounded to him vaguely similar to an earlier scheme proposed by Interior Secretary Albert Fall when he agreed to lease Elk Hills and Teapot Dome in exchange for construction of oil storage tanks in Hawaii.

No one is talking about such a scandal this time, but there remains nevertheless the antitrust question. Investigators are trying to find out if six companies—Standard, Shell, Union Oil, Tidwater, Mobil and Texaco—have violated the Sherman Act by using their control of California pipelines to squeeze out competition from independent refiners. Further, they want to know if a "posted price" system, employed by several of the majors in moving oil throughout the state, is illegal price-fixing. The questions are intriguing, but the Interior Committee, in hearings dating back to last year, has never found time to explore them.

As long ago as 1970, memoranda prepared by Justice attorneys warned that competition for oil produced at Elk Hills might be strangled by the companies and that the government would receive less money than it deserved. The key figure in the setup is Standard, the nation's fifth largest oil company. As then Deputy Atty. Gen. Richard Kleindienst wrote in a 1970 letter to then director of the Bureau of the Budget Robert Mayo, Standard "is the largest producer and purchaser in the locality, indeed in the whole state. Moreover, Standard owns the only pipeline connected to the field, which any purchaser of Elk Hills oil must use for the first link in transportation to any refinery. The Standard line, however, is a private carrier, handling only oil owned by that company."

"Acting in concert with other companies," Kleindienst continued, "Standard could drive the Elk Hills wellhead price down, while still maintaining it at a higher price at the point where delivery is actually made to the refinery. Consequently, in order to move the oil, any purchaser must make arrangements for sale to Standard and repurchase from it at the delivery point."

Because of its privileged position, Standard, even if it produced not a drop at Elk Hills, could thus control the flow of oil from the reserve; and it could dictate the price and terms to any firm that wanted the oil from its pipeline, particularly independent firms which must rely on the good will of the majors.

But that is only part of the story. Last year a joint legislative committee in California, headed by the current state Controller Ken Cory, examined how the pipeline system in the state operated and how crude oil prices were set. Late last year, the committee concluded that crude oil flows into California according to a "closed system in which market price is a deliberate illusion veiling the real value of that supply and the division of revenues therefrom."

The committee said this after examining company records and discovering that oil is very seldom sold in the open market. It is customarily traded from one company's pipeline to another company's pipeline at a so-called "posted price," which is artificially set. Accordingly, "There is no free market for crude oil in which a willing buyer and willing seller can bargain. Most of the crude oil is not traded on the market. It is kept within the select group of seven [companies]; produced by them, singly and jointly, and sent either directly to the producer's refinery or traded within the group without reference to the 'market price.' "

In Congressional testimony, Keith I. Clearwaters, deputy

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assistant attorney general for antitrust, said the Justice Department has intensified its antitrust investigation, but as yet has no conclusive evidence of violations. He added, "We are still investigating, however, and I would not want to suggest that the charge cannot ultimately be made."

Though no evidence has been received that independent refiners have been denied access to oil by major oil companies, Clearwaters said investigators are also looking into allegations by the Cory committee. "That is, whether there is an implied agreement to fix the prices of crude oil." Such a possibility could be inferred, he said, because "there is a pattern of substantial uniformity of postings" by at least four majors, including Standard.

Given this demonstration of rather sleazy free enterprise on the part of the major oil companies, one wonders if those who advocate turning the Navy reserves over to the Interior Department have tried to foresee the consequences. Though Congress appears to be in a panic to give away the oil, the least it can do is wait until the antitrust questions are resolved. To do otherwise would be an abdication of public responsibility.

The Navy's case for holding onto its oil for World War III is rather weak, but the proposal to hand over the oil to Interior for distribution among a few industry giants, is even more dubious. To do so will almost certainly mean that the taxpayer, once again, has his pocket picked.

As Rep. John E. Moss (D., Calif.), a persistent critic of production at the reserves, has noted, "Past patterns of behavior by [Standard] and Interior do not inspire confidence in their ability or desire to protect the public interest." But then, one man's national emergency is another man's larceny. □

SOVIET-AMERICAN TRADE

CAN'T WE DO ANYTHING RIGHT?

O. EDMUND CLUBB

At a meeting with Soviet trade officials in Moscow on April 10, Treasury Secretary William E. Simon voiced an American desire "to participate fully in the opportunities offered by open international trade"—that is, trade with the USSR. If that is the case, it is worthwhile to recall a Congressional assessment that found Soviet-American trade prospects reasonably favorable. According to a study by a subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, "Economic advantages to the United States are likely to be centered on such specific sectors as imports of petroleum and natural gas and exports of soybeans, feed and cereal grain, and computers, and other high-technology products."

The report foresaw that the exchange "by any projection is not likely to represent a large share of United States trade," but it still calculated that, if projects involving the exploitation and sale of Soviet natural gas to the United States were approved, the trade might grow to a total of $5 billion annually. Moreover, it was thought that significant long-term political benefits might accrue from the growing economic exchange. "Overall," the report said, "such political gains might far outweigh the relatively modest economic returns."

That 105-page study was made public on June 9, 1973, on the eve of Soviet party leader Brezhnev's arrival in Washington for a meeting with President Nixon. The study had been prepared in the light of general principles enunciated by Nixon and Brezhnev when they had met in Moscow in May 1972, and in view further of the three-year agreement signed by the two countries in October 1972. That latter agreement, designed to be a solid base for a new economic relationship, granted most-favored-nation (MFN) treatment to the USSR in exchange for settlement of the Soviet lend-lease debt to the United States. There seemed real promise of *mutual* benefit. And at Yalta, in June 1974, Nixon and Brezhnev signed a ten-year agreement providing a broad framework for the expansion of economic exchanges and cooperation between the two countries.

The contretemps of December 1974 is fresh in the public memory. In the face of a clear warning from Brezhnev on October 15 that the attaching of political conditions to trade agreements would be improper and "unacceptable" to the Soviet Union, Congress on December 20 passed the Trade Reform Act bearing the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which makes the extension of MFN treatment to the USSR conditional upon a Soviet grant of freedom of emigration for its citizens. Furthermore, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, diverging radically from the line taken in the study prepared by its House counterpart, had decided that it would not be in the best interest of the United States to have official American participation in the development of Soviet natural-gas resources. So when extending the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank for four years at the $25 billion level, Congress in December stipulated that no Export-Import Bank credits might be used for the production, transportation or distribution of energy materials from the USSR. Finally, Congress put a $300 million ceiling on credits that might be extended to the USSR for any purpose, with that amount to be extended over four years and the maximum in any one year to be $75 million. The $300 million limit might be exceeded only if the President deemed it in the national interest *and the Congress approved.* Congress had not established such limits on total credits for any other country.

The immediate sequel is well known: Moscow refused to

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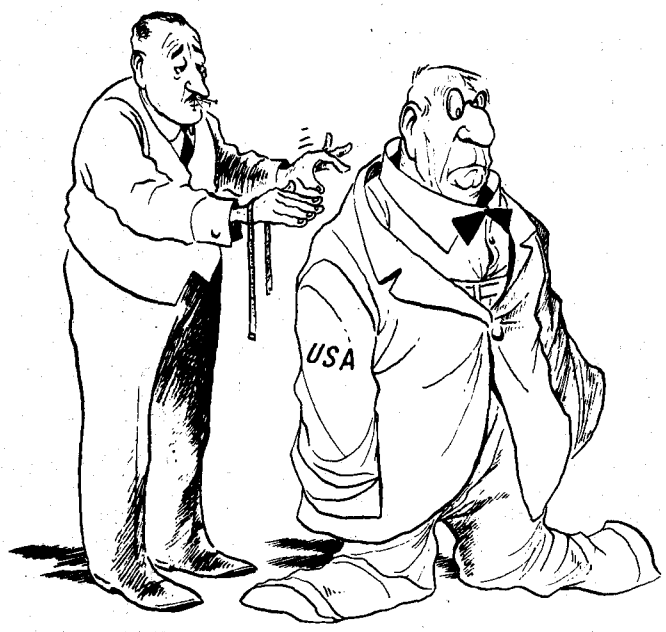
accept the indicated requirements for receiving MFN treatment and manifested deep discontent with the credit limitation. Thus the 1972 agreement stood without effect and the Yalta agreement of June 1974 lost much of its force. The Trade Reform Act had checked, substantially, the movement toward Soviet-American economic cooperation.

For an adequate appreciation of the balance of forces in the situation, one must remember that the Nixon administration's 1972 move toward economic rapprochement with the USSR—after twenty years of near-total estrangement—was made to overcome an American disadvantage. The European Economic Community (EEC) and Japan had been building up profitable trade relations with the Socialist bloc for a full decade; and, with the American world trade position deteriorating, the United States had finally decided to compete for a share of that growing market—and especially the Soviet market. But the Trade Act, theoretically designed to facilitate the liberalization of trade exchanges, had failed to do so in the case of the Soviet Union.

The first reason for that setback to the policy of economic cooperation was the attempt by Congress, primarily for domestic political reasons, to link the grant of MFN treatment to Soviet emigration policy. Here a secondary factor also operated. When it tried to win a Soviet political concession in exchange for regularizing economic relations, Congress clearly overestimated the value Moscow put on the new relationship—and thus overrated the strength of the American bargaining position. Although the United States had tken the initiative to rehabilitate trade ties. American plitical figures were soon heard talking as if Russia had been driven to seek American technology and industrial equipment so that it might emerge from economic stagnation. Sen. Henry Jackson, the prime architect of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, asserted on November 15, 1973, that there was "overwhelming" evidence that the Soviet economy stood badly in need of assistance—but that the help should come "through a reordering of Soviet priorities away from the military into the civilian sector"; it should *not* be given by the United States. Those who, like Jackson, talked of the USSR's dire need were able easily to convince themselves that the United States had the upper hand and could dictate terms, both economic and political.



Vadillo, Siempre (Mexico)

The circumstance that Russia suffered a massive crop failure in 1972, causing it to buy $1 billion worth of grain in the United States, seemed to confirm the hypothesis that a weakened USSR would have to accede to American stipulations. Besides, a peculiar resentment was born of the grain deal. Although the big American grain companies, as good capitalist enterprises, could be presumed pleased at having sold their not inconsiderable grain stocks at a substantial profit, some critics held that, because the Soviets, in equally sage capitalistic manner, had avoided stiff price hikes by not divulging the extent of their needs, the American nation had been victimized.

Congress took due political note; the matter became a public issue. And in October 1974, when the Trade Act was under consideration, the White House caused two big American grain exporters to cancel a new $500 million sale of grain to the Soviet Union. President Ford was quoted by the head of one of the companies as remarking that there were "political problems in Congress and with the people of the United States, who would be irate that grain was going to Russia in this magnitude." But corn, wheat and soybean prices promptly fell sharply in the American market. And some six weeks later the Soviets were permitted to contract for smaller amounts of grain. They presumably paid less per unit than they would have in October.

Thus it was that the U.S. Congress passed the Trade Act in a form designed to achieve American economic *and political* aims, while offering little in return. The nullifying of the October 1972 agreement was overt, and it was substantive. Congress thus removed the incentives for the Soviet Union to make concessions, whether with respect to trade or as regards Soviet emigration. In mid-January, when both sides were engaged in some assessment of reasons for the development, Tass made what could be taken as an official observation: "As for trade, it is not a unilateral process. We want and are prepared to trade with the West, but . . . only on the basis of full equality and mutual benefits." At a later point in the commentary, Tass remarked pointedly: "The Soviet people . . . would never make their right to decide their own internal affairs an object of bargaining. It would never occur to them to predicate their normal state-to-state relations with the United States, say, on abolition of private ownership of the means of production."

It is now evident that the USSR's economic need is *not* so great that it must accept disadvantageous terms for American trade. The Soviet Union is the world's second strongest economic power. In fact, it is the dominant element in an even more powerful combine, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), which embraces the USSR, Eastern Europe, Cuba and the Mongolian People's Republic. The United States, on the other hand, for all of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's attempts to foster "interdependence" among the United States, the EEC and Japan, is far from having won command of a solid phalanx of capitalist economies. Particularly in regard to trade with

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the Soviet Union, EEC countries and Japan were not following the American line before 1972; and with economic depression assailing them, they are even less inclined to follow that lead today. It was only recently that the United States and the USSR reached agreement on broad measures of economic cooperation. The EEC countries and Japan have relationships with the Soviet Union that are already well along on the way of development.

The critical factor is that Russia possesses tremendous reserves of industrial raw materials—including energy materials—and has evidently made the strategic decision to exchange some of its natural riches for large quantities of industrial equipment and technology, in order to speed up its economic development. Soviet natural-gas deposits are estimated to make up nearly one-third of the world's total, and production is steadily increasing. The Soviet production of petroleum, which has also been climbing sharply, in 1974 totaled approximately 450 million metric tons, thus surpassing American production—which, even as in the case of natural gas, is falling. As the world's largest consumer of energy, the United States is a heavy importer of petroleum; the USSR, which plans to produce about 490 million tons in 1975, is an exporter. The United States may be reluctant to assist the Soviet Union with the production of energy materials, but the USSR is increasing production rapidly without American official aid, and is expanding its network of oil and gas pipelines.

Consider now the situation prevailing with respect to Soviet economic exchanges with some of the United States' principal trading partners, especially in the field of energy. In December 1969, the USSR agreed to supply West Germany with natural gas over a period of twenty years, in exchange (in part) for large-diameter gas pipe; the agreement envisaged delivery of 3 billion cubic meters of natural gas per annum by 1978. And in May 1973 the two countries signed a ten-year pact providing for economic, industrial and technological cooperation, with the USSR to provide West Germany with petroleum, natural gas and other industrial raw materials. West Germany is the Soviet Union's chief capitalist trading partner.

As was to be expected, France early entered the field of Soviet trade. In early 1974, it became known that Russia had opened up a huge new natural-gas field near Orenburg, with sulfur as a by-product. With French technical assistance, the first of six projected sulfur-recovery units had been put into operation. At Paris, on December 6, 1974, President Giscard d'Estaing and Soviet leader Brezhnev signed a five-year pact providing for a doubling of Franco-Soviet trade to a figure of $2.65 billion annually by 1980. The agreement included a French credit of $2.5 billion for the financing of Soviet purchases over the five years. And a separate agreement provided for the supply to France of 2.5 billion cubic meters of Soviet natural gas per year to 1980, and 4 billion cubic meters annually thereafter. It was notable that the pertinent joint communiqué referred not to détente but to the policy of "entente" and cooperation between the two countries.

Japan had waited upon American participation in the development of Soviet natural-gas resources, the Japanese interest being focused primarily in deposits located in Eastern Siberia. With the long American delay, Japan and the USSR early this year signed an agreement providing for the extension of $100 million in Japanese credits for the exploitation of oil and natural-gas resources located on the continental shelf of Sakhalin, with Japan to receive 50 per cent of the production of both commodities. In signing the agreement, provision was made for later participation by American interests, should there prove to be an American desire. That new joint enterprise fell within the larger framework of a network of Soviet-Japanese cooperative undertakings—and a steadily growing trade.

Britain is in the picture with a trade that in 1974 had risen to $1.2 billion. And in February 1975, Prime Minister Wilson made a visit to Moscow that brought agreement on a program of expanded economic cooperation, with the British side to provide approximately $2 billion in low-interest credits to the USSR. Where trade in 1974 had stood four to one in favor of the Soviet exporters of primary materials, the two sides agreed now to work for a more balanced and substantially increased exchange.

And Italy is among those present, especially as far as energy materials are concerned. In 1969, it signed a twenty-year, $3 billion contract for the import of Soviet natural gas via a pipeline to be extended from Bratislava to the Italian border. That pipeline has been completed, and the natural gas flows to Italy, with the contract providing for 100 billion cubic meters to be delivered over the life of the contract. Against the background of a 30 per cent increase of trade in 1973, the USSR and Italy in July 1974 entered upon a ten-year agreement for the development of economic, industrial and technological cooperation.

There are several noteworthy elements in the picture of Soviet relations with the capitalist sector of the world economy. For one thing, it is evident that the USSR is able to tap sources of industrial equipment and technology other than the United States, and some of those sources are, in certain respects, more advanced technologically than is the United States. Further—and this factor seems not to have been widely noted—the other capitalist economies have their own export-import banking facilities, and are quite prepared to foster trade with the USSR by extending liberal credits, and without placing arbitrary limits on such credits.

It is moreover apparent that, in the situation where all the industrialized societies are dependent to varying degrees upon outside sources for supplies of energy and other industrial raw materials, some of our prime trading partners are willing, where the profit motive operates, to be partially dependent upon Soviet sources of supply in the critical present. For in a world of dwindling resources a prosperous autarky is impossible; and in a sellers' market *no* source is "dependable"—in American terms. Iran, Venezuela and Canada, in their individual ways, have driven that point home to Washington with respect to the particular matter of oil prices and oil supply. In that general situation, some of our capitalist trading partners have proceeded from the area of "détente" to that of "entente" and to economic cooperation, with the Soviet Union.

The American position is attended by contradictions: officially, given the strictures of the Trade Act, the United States has not progressed beyond economic détente; but

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American private enterprise has proceeded measurably farther in the direction of "economic cooperation." In the three years 1972-74, under the burgeoning new relationship, the USSR bought much more from the United States than it sold. That naturally pleased American businessmen and, due to the initiative of private American corporations and banks, various promising deals have recently been made. In August 1974, the General Electric Co. contracted to deliver by early 1976, at the price of $250 million, sixty-five gas-turbine compressors for the Soviet natural-gas pipeline system. In November, the USSR bought $100 million worth of tractors from the International Harvester Co.—on cash terms. In February of this year, Intertex International of New York sold the USSR $25 million worth of machinery for the manufacture of artificial fur—again for cash on delivery. Also in February, since the Export-Import Bank's credits to the USSR are now restricted, the Bank of America, at a Washington meeting of the U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council, proposed that it form a banking syndicate to provide a credit fund of $500 million for the financing of Soviet purchases in the United States. Soviet-American trade thus still stands at a respectable level. Nevertheless, exchanges in 1974 were valued at just under $1 billion, as compared with $1.4 billion for 1973 (when, to be sure, deliveries against the big 1972 grain purchase were a factor), and the future development of that trade is hampered by denial of MFN treatment, and by the lack of government credits other than the piddling $300 million.

Moscow is not without cash in hand. Thanks to higher prices for gold and industrial raw materials—including of course energy material—it had in 1974 a favorable trade balance of nearly $2.7 billion. Nevertheless, financial opinion stresses the importance of providing adequate credits in the present competitive situation. In a February report to Congress, the Export-Import Bank stated that, due in part to restraints on the bank's lending authority, U.S. companies had begun to feel a reduction of export business. It said further that there were indications that, "in those capital goods sectors of great importance to increasing the level of United States exports, several factors, especially the ability of other countries to finance a larger portion of the export price of their goods than Eximbank feel able to do, were diverting exports from the United States or otherwise causing a slowdown in potential United States sales abroad." Observing that "Official credit agencies in Europe and Japan continued to support as much as 85 per cent of the export price of their exports," the bank reported that a recent survey had shown that major American engineering firms were now in effect submitting their bids from foreign countries "in order to get more adequate financing."

The relevance of those remarks to the issue of Soviet-American trade was apparent. For in circumstances where the American trade deficit in 1974 was $3.07 billion, one of the areas of competition between the United States and its prime capitalist trading partners is clearly the Soviet Union.

What does the future hold in that regard? The existing situation confronts the United States with certain concrete disadvantages. As regards settlement of the lend-lease debt, the 1972 agreement required the USSR to make three payments totaling $48 million against the agreed total of $722 million, with the third payment due on July 1, 1975; but the USSR need make no payment after that until granted MFN treatment.

There is the question of energy materials. As long as American inflation continues, OPEC almost certainly will not offer petroleum at cheaper *dollar* prices. Natural gas? The Federal Power Commission reported at the beginning of the year that, due to declining domestic production, the natural-gas supply situation had unexpectedly worsened; and in February, noting that reductions in delivery had "adversely affected the nation's economic stability and welfare," it ordered that a comprehensive inventory of national natural-gas reserves be compiled. In the meantime, of course, unlike West Germany, France and Italy, the United States remained "independent" of Soviet natural gas.

There is the matter of markets for American agricultural products. The United States' 1974 wheat crop was the biggest in history, and at the time when the Administration forced the cancellation of the Soviet order for 34 million bushels (having permitted the sale of 49 million bushels to China a short time before), some 350 million bushels were still in the market, at high prices, out of a total of a billion bushels available for export that year. But prices for wheat, corn and soybeans had dropped by March 1 of this year far below their October 1974 highs (with soybeans down 48 per cent, from $9.69 to $4.95 a bushel). In early 1975, the Soviet Union canceled one small order for wheat; China canceled two. At a time when it is anticipated that American farmers will increase their acreage enough to bring in a record crop of more than 6.2 billion bushels of corn, other countries have also cut back on their purchases of American feed grains. Now Congress purports to see a need to increase farm price supports. The USSR has in the past been a big buyer of American corn (the aborted October deal included 92 million bushels). If there are substantial market surpluses of American grain in 1975, would the USSR, showing up as a prospective purchaser, be turned away?

And what of emigration from the USSR—the issue that gave rise to Congress' assault on the 1972 agreement in the first instance? Such emigration dropped from a level of 32,500 in 1973 to about 21,000 in 1974. The Soviet periodical *Novaya Vremya* reported on January 30 of this year that the number of Soviet Jews applying for emigration had actually dropped continuously since 1973 by reason of difficulties (duly detailed by *Novaya Vremya*) Soviet Jews encountered in Israel. And, sure enough, it was reported from Vienna in mid-March that 40 per cent fewer Soviet emigrants had passed through that point since the first of the year than in the same period of 1974. The surface indications are plain enough; the emigration of Soviet citizens to Israel, and to the United States, will in all probability decrease this year as compared with last. The Jackson-Vanik amendment is shown to have been ill-advised, in more ways than one.

Addressing the U.S. Congress on the same day that Treasury Secretary Simon spoke in Moscow, President Ford remarked on the restrictions that Congress had imposed on Soviet-American trade, and said that in the past

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six months Western Europe and Japan had extended more than $8 billion in credits to the USSR, thus seizing upon opportunities "which could have gone to Americans." He added that the Trade Act had "seriously complicated the prospects" of would-be Soviet emigrants.

The President said that remedial legislation was urgently required "in our national interest." And it can be assumed probable that in due course, as the crisis in the capitalist sector of the world economy deepens—which it shows every sign of doing—and as other (and sometimes bigger) problems than the right of Soviet citizens to emigrate intrude upon the attention of the U.S. Government, it can be assumed that in due course MFN treatment, and credit terms as generous as those offered by EEC countries and Japan, will be granted to the USSR—in service of the concept of economic cooperation. □

FOOLISH FEEDING

COWS, PIGS AND POLITICS

CATHY KAUFMAN

Washington, D.C.

The anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss discovered a universal status distinction between roasted and boiled meat: "Boiling provides a means of complete conservation of the meat and its juices, whereas roasting is accompanied by destruction and loss. Thus one denotes economy; the other prodigality; the latter is aristocratic, the former plebeian."

But whether boiled or roasted, the waste in eating meat can be prodigious. Nowhere is this so apparent as in the feedlot finishing of beef, a practice common in the United States for the past two decades that uses increased amounts of grain like corn and high-protein concentrate—such as soy and fish meals, often for one-third of the animal's life. This kind of misallocation of productive land and foodstuffs—it takes 8 pounds of grain and concentrates to add 1 pound of weight in the feedlot—has aroused concern over heedless consumption at home juxtaposed with starvation elsewhere. The stocky, black Aberdeen Angus, long the quintessential beef animal (his compact size means smaller, more tender muscle bundles as well as more expensive meat) has become a *bête noire* symbolizing the maldistribution of agricultural wealth.

As omnivores, we can respond with versatility to the business of choosing a diet, guided not only by our perceptions of nutrition and the pleasures of the table but by politics and morality as well. If we are so inclined, we can eat only plants, following Frances Moore Lappé's guide (*Diet for a Small Planet*) to apportioning the essential amino acids. Or we can listen to Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz—"Americans are not going to eat one *less* hamburger per week. They are going to eat one *more* hamburger per week"—and eat more meat to fulfill our country's Manifest Destiny. Perhaps a look at some of the issues involved in protein allocation, particularly of animal products, is in order. Possibilities exist for more efficient production and use of these commodities, but our agricultural sector—like our automobile sector—has stressed the energy-guzzling models. There has been no planning or direction, certainly no semblance of a national nutrition policy.

Cathy Kaufman is a free-lance writer living in Washington, D.C.

Even the grade changes for beef adopted by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (broadening the "Choice" category to incorporate some 20 per cent of the leaner meat now graded "Good") will have no effect on the overconsumption of meat in the United States, a problem characteristic of wealthy countries and described by one official in the Food and Agriculture Organization's Nutrition Division as "a monumental physiological and economic error."

Average overconsumption of protein in this country has reached an alarming 100 per cent. As protein intake increases, so does urinary excretion of calcium. The result can be a negative calcium balance, with the risk of osteoporosis (porous and brittle bones) in the aged. Excessive protein intake has produced liver and kidney enlargement and possibly shortened lives, according to published research.

It is widely assumed that the way to keep our meat production high is simply to cut down on expensive grains and concentrates and turn more animals out to pasture. Thus, land now in corn (77 per cent of which goes to animals) could produce wheat, rice or other grains designated for human consumption. However, if our meat intake continues to rise (a pre-inflation estimate was 300 pounds per person a year by 1980), a shift to using more pasture and forage will raise problems. Dr. H.J. Hodgson, principal agronomist of the USDA's Cooperative Research Service, comments on recent trends in the cattle business: "Undoubtedly there's been a rapid and painful change. When grain was cheap and there were surpluses, it was economically wise to feed grain to animals and for an industry based on grain-fed beef to develop. Now world demand for grain is up and so is the cost of producing it. I think beef production will probably continue to increase, but on less grain. We can cut the use of grain for cattle in half."

But then he added: "What we need to do now is emphasize research on forage production to increase acreage yields. Otherwise we may be faced with a shortage. There simply won't be enough grass to go around."

As the shift continues from grain to grass, cattle raisers change breeds. The beef animal most commonly found in American feedlots has been the crossbred Hereford-Angus. Rising stars are some "exotic" breeds from Europe—Simmental, Fleckvieh, Normande, Chianina. And like ghosts from our frontier past have come the beefalo, a cross between cattle and buffalo, and the almost extinct Texas

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Longhorn. All these breeds share one desirable characteristic—they grow fast on a grassy track.

But meat and beef are too often equated. There are other animals, and any rational allocation of animal resources would consider differences in species efficiency. The four animals most commonly eaten in the United States—cattle, pigs, chicken and sheep—are divided into ruminants, having more than one digestive compartment, and mono-gastrics. The ruminant mechanism of sheep and cattle enables them to synthesize their own protein. Pigs and chickens, like man, must consume protein to live.

It takes slightly more than 2 pounds of high-protein feed to raise a chicken to approximately 3 pounds slaughter weight. The conversion ratio of essential amino acids into edible meat in poultry, while considerably more favorable than that of feedlot beef cattle, has been called "poor in relation to the economic use of world resources of essential amino acids" by British poultry authority D.H. Shrimpton. Dr. Hodgson sees it as "a pretty good trade-off," considering that the amino acids involved are derived from substances that are generally not eaten by man: soy meal, by-products of sugar, meat, wheat and fish, and cottonseed meal. Even corn, which Hodgson calls the most efficient crop in its conversion of sunlight to starch and sugars, and which is the main food of pigs and chickens, is not a satisfactory human staple because of its amino acid limitations.

One partial solution to animal nutrient requirements has been long honored in the barnyard, where pigs follow cattle, and chickens and rabbits pick up after themselves; that is, recycling of excreta. Poultry litter, the most nutritious, is 31 per cent protein, comparing favorably with good quality alfalfa. J.P. Fontenot and K.E. Webb, Jr. have reported that a ration containing 25 per cent heat-treated poultry litter has been fed to steers with good results. Unfortunately, antibiotics and other drugs used in poultry feeds are expelled in litter, and this kind of recycling has not yet been approved by the Food and Drug Administration.

Pigs require 8.5 pounds of concentrate to produce 1 pound of meat. However, other factors favor pork production. A sow produces an average of fifteen piglets a year, seven or eight to a litter. In the same period, a cow will produce one calf; a ewe, possibly two lambs. After slaughter, an average 75 per cent of the pig's live weight remains on the carcass, compared to 50 per cent for sheep, 55 per cent for cattle. Extraordinary advances have been made in the use of parts of commercially slaughtered animals that are commonly wasted. The yield of protein from an animal can be increased 15 to 20 per cent, reports L.D. Satterlee, University of Nebraska biochemist, particularly from the blood, whey and dessicated powders from soft tissues. (Here a note on pet food: it is largely meat rejected for human consumption because it was bruised, dead before proper slaughter, or is otherwise substandard.)

For the cholesterol conscious, pigs have the advantage over ruminants that they deposit in their tissues the kind of fats they are fed. Polyunsaturated fat is greater in pork than in beef and can be increased through diet. (Cattle are being experimentally fed formaldehyde-bound pellets of oils such as safflower. The formaldehyde keeps the oil from being synthesized to saturated fat during its journey to the true stomach.) The quantity of thiamine and riboflavin is good in pork and can be increased. In the past few decades, the pig has metamorphosed from a lardy to a lean animal, though the caloric content of pork is still greater than that of beef. Since 1971, however, the trend for pork consumption has been down, while consumption of chicken has held fairly steady and beef has increased.

The big drop has been in sheep. In 1960, almost 16 million sheep and lambs were slaughtered commercially; by 1972 the number had dropped to 10 million. Predators are frequently cited as the major problem; they provoke bumper stickers like this one spotted on a pickup truck near Cornell University: "Eat Lamb. 10 Million Coyotes Can't Be Wrong." This refers to the federal action that three years ago halted the use of poisons in the Interior Department's fifty-four-year-old predator control program. Last year, permission for use of sodium cyanide was granted, but only in designated emergencies. In fairness to the coyote, experience has demonstrated no correlation in any area between total numbers of coyotes and damage done. More depends on climate, which may deplete the normal food supply of coyotes, so that they turn to sheep out of desperation.

Emory Leffel, president of the Maryland Sheep Breeders Association, claims that if rainfall and soil fertility are good, it is possible to produce more meat from sheep than from cattle on the same amount of pasture. More Choice grade lamb than beef can be produced from the same forage, he adds. "My pet theory to explain declining sheep production," he says, "is the fact that the salvage value of the adult animal is so low. No one eats mutton here." Old cows and pigs, in contrast, never just die—they fry away, as hamburgers or sausage. A wise food policy might cultivate public relations for the sheep.

Cattle customarily eat 5.6 pounds of concentrates and 15 pounds of forage and pasture for each pound of carcass produced. Though this may appear to compare favorably with the concentrate intake of pigs, it should be stressed that cattle can do without the concentrates. These are added solely to produce marbling. Furthermore, the idea of raising cattle for meat alone has been questioned in principle. G.A. Lodge of the Animal Research Institute, Ottawa, asks "whether beef from beef cattle is a luxury which can be afforded in a situation of protein shortage."

Meat from dairy animals, or the dual-purpose breeds of Europe, is another matter. "In terms of land use," Lodge writes, "milk production is probably the most efficient type of animal production," and "the total return of human food for animal food consumed is appreciably greater than from any single-purpose form of meat consumption."

It takes about 1 pound of concentrate to produce 3 pounds of milk. It is speculated that properly managed forage rations might do as well. But dairy cow numbers are down from 17 million in 1960 to less than 12 million in 1972. Beef cattle numbers are up. In terms of efficiency, the trend should be reversed. Of course, meat from dairy cows is leaner.

Gender, too, is germane. Though steers are the customary source of beef, bulls are 10 per cent more efficient in the production of protein, though steers put on fat more readily. Bulls gain weight faster than steers and can be ready for market some six to ten months earlier. Many ex-

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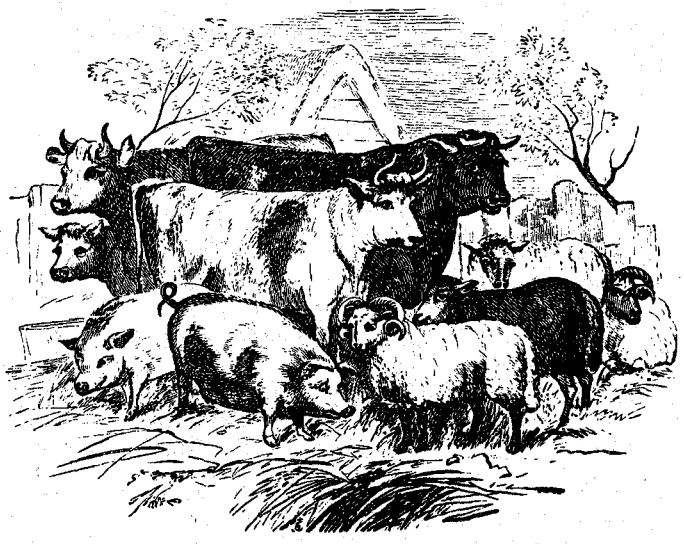
perts regard the arguments for castrating sheep and cattle as minimal or nonexistent (if male pigs are left intact their meat has an unpleasant taste).

The tradition of force-feeding cattle to make them fat is old, extending back 5,000 years to Egypt. Today, the same effect is accomplished with drugs, antibiotics and the synthetic hormone diethylstilbestrol (DES), both of which are extremely controversial additives to animal feeds, and both of which increase food intake and its efficient conversion. That is the major role for DES, but antibiotics also help to hold down disease. It is only in America that such extensive use of drugs is tolerated. DES is a proven carcinogen. Public pressure forced the FDA to ban it in both feed and implants in 1973, but early in 1974, after an appeal by drug manufacturers, the ruling was overturned by a court order. DES is still turning up in animal products, and the date for a new hearing on the drug has not yet been set. Meanwhile, the FDA is waffling over a definition of "zero residue," trying to establish workable testing levels for a carcinogen, an outrageous proposal which clearly favors profit over public welfare. Less DES is available now than before the FDA ban, however, for the largest manufacturer of it has discontinued production. More expensive hormonal-acting substitutes, like Ralgro and Synovex, are now used.

Antibiotics are not carcinogens, but their extensive use in animal feeds is a dubious practice. Without antibiotics to control the spread of disease and, to some extent, compensate for poor husbandry, large confinement systems such as the multi-storied chicken houses or the 100,000-animal feedlots of the West, could not exist. About 80 per cent of all meat, milk and eggs in the United States comes from animals given medicated feeds. There is a risk of developing resistant strains of harmful bacteria, particularly salmonella. The general trend of salmonella infections in man has been upward since growers began feeding antibiotics to their animals in the 1950s. England has restricted antibiotics in animal feeds to prescription use for therapeutic purposes only. In 1972, an FDA task force urged curtailment of antibiotics in feeds. The FDA has granted drug manufacturers time to present relevant evidence before acting on the recommendation.



USDA economists have given the same figure ($3.85) as the increased per year cost to the consumer should either antibiotics or DES be discontinued. Thus each of us runs an increased risk of cancer and other diseases for a savings of 7.3 cents a week. In the words of Sen. William Proxmire (D., Wis.), who introduced an unsuccessful bill to ban DES, "Cheap beef or lamb that brings with it the threat of cancer is a very bad bargain indeed." Similar legislation has been introduced this session by Senators Kennedy (D., Mass.) and Schweiker (R., Pa.).

And who is making a large share of the profit that comes from confinement systems dependent on antibiotics and on DES fattening? Because it is considered farming, the cost of feeding cattle is tax deductible. It has become a handy tax shelter for the wealthy, with loopholes the size of lariats, so that even the foot-dragging House Ways and Means Committee has been considering action to prevent abuse. *Barron's* reported that by 1973, close to 40 per cent of all capital in the country's ten largest feedlots—about $600 million—came from big money seeking shelter from taxes.

If there were to be a nationwide push to cut down meat consumption and, for example, put land formerly in feed grains into wheat, we would need, more than ever, some kind of national nutrition policy. Despite the prevalence of protein overconsumption, about 20 per cent of Americans are estimated to suffer from protein deprivation, according to materials compiled for last year's hearings on nutrition policy before the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.

Even the diet of the overfed could be improved. The USDA's agricultural statistics give a notion of the typical American dinner. Chances are slim that there will be a fresh vegetable. The trend on their consumption is down, except for salad ingredients like onions, garlic, cucumbers, lettuce and the hard-shell agribusiness tomato, not worth its weight in pith. Frozen vegetable consumption is up, so the all-American meal will likely include meat, a serving of frozen vegetables and dried or frozen potatoes, a salad, white bread with margarine and dessert.

But food policy in America, blind to other considerations, continues doggedly in the direction of farm income support. Food stamps do nothing to promote basic, nutritious foods. Only selective low prices and education can do that. Dietary improvement can become national policy. In England during World War II, the government response to blockades and shortages was the creative implementation of a policy specifically aimed at reforming dietary habits and improving nutrition. As a result, the incidence of anemia declined, growth rates of children increased, their dental health improved, infant deaths reached the lowest levels ever and the general state of health of the population was better than ever. The American Public Health Association presented the British Ministries of Food and Health an award for "one of the greatest demonstrations of public health administration that the world has ever seen."

How did they do it? They pegged the prices of a few essential foods such as bread, potatoes and milk at low levels. The availability of cheap milk was seen as particularly important by the scientists advising the War Cabinet.

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Milk production was increased, as were imports of dried milk and cheese. Today, with minor variations, the subsidizing of essential staples continues in England, at a cost of $1.2 billion a year.

An objection to milk as a cheap national food could be raised on the ground that non-Caucasians frequently have trouble digesting milk easily, because of a congenital tendency to deficiency of lactase, the enzyme that digests lactose in milk. But two University of Rhode Island researchers, Arthur Rand and James H. Hourigan, recently announced development of an inexpensive process that converts lactose to two simple sugars that are normally easily digested. The milk is sweeter, but otherwise unchanged.

The protein content of milk, normally 3 to 4 per cent, can be manipulated to some extent. In the Netherlands, both fat content and protein content are considered as a base for payment, in order to be sure the nutritive value of milk does not decline. Here, payment is relative to fat only. The protein percentage difference may seem insignificant, but British dairy scientist J.A.B. Smith has speculated that, if the 2.7 billion gallons of milk produced in Britain per year averaged 3.2 per cent protein when it might attain 3.4 per cent, the loss of first-class protein would be 24,000 tons. The Ford Administration's disregard for any sort of sound nutrition policy shows in the statement of Albert Rees, director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, testifying before the Joint Economic Committee last fall: "Within the food area, we are especially concerned at the moment with the price of sugar and of products that use sugar, such as soft drinks, candy and breakfast cereals."

We already eat far too much sugar; 37 per cent of our dietary intake is sugar, fats and oils. The Administration's alarm over its cost, coupled with the proposal to raise the price of food stamps for nearly all the program's participants, who would have to pay a flat 30 per cent of their income for the stamps, does not make a pretty set of priorities.

In fact, it sounds like let them eat cake. □

LABOR'S NEW DRIVE

Fourteen Million Public Workers

JOHN MATHEWS

Washington

Forty years ago, during the Great Depression, the New Deal Congress passed and Franklin D. Roosevelt signed into law the National Labor Relations Act (the Wagner Act), giving workers in the private sector the right to organize, gain recognition for their union and bargain collectively with their employers.

A long history of militancy and bloodshed on picket lines, from Pullman to the Frick Works to Kohler, had helped write the law, and its passage was eased by the belief that increased worker power would produce higher wages, which would in turn generate greater buying power and, perhaps, give the economy a lift.

Forty years later, another segment of the work force—the nation's public employees who were specifically excluded from the guarantees of the Wagner Act—are trying to mark the anniversary of that historic law with a federal act guaranteeing to public employees the same rights enjoyed by workers in the private sector.

Countless picket lines, some bloodshed, heavy fines and jail sentences for union leaders, and the crippling of garbage collection, police and fire services, hospitals and schools in some 1,800 strikes over the last five years have built pressure for uniform federal regulation of public labor. More important, however, the political authority of numbers—11.5 million workers for local and state governments, plus nearly 3 million federal workers—and the political might of millions of dollars contributed by public employee unions to help elect the liberal 94th Congress increase the likelihood that federal legislation will pass this year or next.

The priority on Capitol Hill this session is for a federal bargaining law to cover state and local government workers. Federal employee unions, whose organizing rights—with a stringent limitation on strikes—were guaranteed by President Kennedy's 1962 executive order, are also driving for a federal statute. But groups like the National Education Association (NEA) and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), AFL-CIO, the two largest public employee unions, want to keep the federal worker issue separate, fearing it would complicate, or could even scuttle, their own campaign.

Passage of a federal collective bargaining law for public workers would have a ripple effect throughout the nation. Public employee unions, which over the years have been able to count only about a third of the eligible workers, would have the potential for increasing their rolls to the point that they may become the largest cohesive segment in the work force. Their political power would surely increase. And even now the NEA, for example, has set in motion its machinery for endorsing a Presidential candidate next year. It regularly puts out a legislative friends and enemies list to its 1.6 million members.

Just as the Wagner Act eventually led to higher wage demands during the depression, a uniform federal public employee law—certain to be tougher than most of the public employee laws in the thirty states that have them—is likely to bring higher wage and salary demands, thus contributing to inflation. Public employee strikes, which a decade ago totaled forty-two but have been running at 300 to 400 a year since then, might become more frequent. The unions, however, say not, claiming that strikes would in fact diminish because most of those now called are a part

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of battles to gain union recognition or to force government units to the bargaining table in states that have no collective bargaining statutes for the public sector.

With a federal law the balance between state and local governments could change dramatically. Powerful state associations of teachers, for example, would aim for statewide salary contracts, thus depriving local school boards of some of their authority. And the power balance could shift as well within the labor movement itself. Jerry Wurf denies it, but speculation persists that eventually he may break with George Meany and take his fast-growing 700,000 member AFSCME out of the AFL-CIO and, together with the NEA, the International Association of Fire Fighters and other unions, develop a real public employee confederation. A prototype of this, the Coalition of American Public Employees, was set up two years ago to lobby for a federal bargaining law. Such a move would thwart Albert Shanker, who heads the AFL-CIO affiliated 600,000 member American Federation of Teachers, and has long aspired to lead a merged teacher union.

While a federal collective bargaining law for public employees would appear to be a proposition whose time has come, some serious obstacles remain. The nation's mayors and governors are currently waging a legal offensive in the U.S. Supreme Court to challenge the constitutionality of federal laws that would regulate wages and working conditions of public employees in the states. Also, a new issue has been raised about the effect a federal collective bargaining law would have upon a whole range of working conditions, like retirement funds or teacher tenure. These are now mandated by state laws, but with a federal law on the books, they could become proper subjects for bargaining. Deciding what state laws should be exempted under a federal law opens a Pandora's box of competing political and economic interests.

Further, the National Right to Work Committee and other similar groups are gearing up to oppose a federal public employee law on the ground of States' rights. Draft bills would make union membership and dues collection compulsory in the public sector, and many see that as a back-door assault on Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Law, which permits state right-to-work laws that ban compulsory union membership.

The first obstacle chronologically is the legal challenge raised by the National Governors Conference and the National League of Cities. It takes aim at the Federal Labor Standards Act, which Congress last year amended to regulate the minimum wages and overtime hours of local and state workers. The constitutional thrust of the appeal goes to the heart of Congressional power, under the commerce clause, to regulate public workers in the states; it could directly affect the future of a federal collective bargaining law, if the Court comes up with a definitive decision.

The brief of the mayors and governors reads like the classical conservative States' rights arguments made forty years ago against the Wagner Act, but now recast in the context of the public sector. Claiming to detect a violation of the Tenth Amendment principle that "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the states are reserved to the states respectively or to the people," the brief charges that under the labor standards act "the ultimate decision on state and city personnel problems will no longer be made at the state capital but in Washington." The amended law would impose new work standards "applicable to state and city governments," the brief adds. Just the cost of paying overtime after sixty hours to police and fire personnel would demand billions of additional dollars from the taxpayer, the mayors and governors warn.

Seven years ago, a Warren Court decision appeared to have confirmed the right of Congress to extend the federal minimum wage and maximum hours law to state and local employees. In the 1968 *Maryland* v. *Wirtz* decision, the Court had approved the 1966 Congressional extension of the labor standards act to workers in public state hospitals and schools. But the Burger Court may be ready to shift in a new direction. Thus far, it has held back from issuing decisions in cases that raise the related issues of whether state workers can sue in state courts when their rights under the federal labor standards law are violated and whether the now-discarded Nixon Phase II pay freeze applied to state and local governments. The suit by the mayors and governors gives the Court a chance to settle the States' rights question in its own way.

Besides the legal challenge, a new wrinkle has been added about the effect of a federal law on existing state laws dealing with the terms and conditions of public employment. Congress is expected to leave state collective bargaining laws intact, if they are equal to or stronger than the federal law. Perhaps only half a dozen existing laws would survive, because most of the state laws now on the books contain stringent anti-strike provisions. A federal law passed by the liberal 94th Congress can be expected to stipulate conciliation procedures for avoiding a strike, but would probably not go so far as to order compulsory arbitration or an outright ban on strikes, unless a clear danger to public health and safety can be proven—a legal limitation which has not prevented public worker strikes in many states.

Deciding what other existing state laws should be exempted or made part of the collective bargaining process could develop into a major political wrangle. Up for grabs would appear to be a laundry list of "terms and conditions of employment" now mandated by state legislatures: tenure laws, retirement systems, layoff procedures, promotion policies, military and maternity leave provisions, union security and even whether supervisors can be in the same bargaining unit with workers. Prof. Myron Lieberman of Baruch College, City University of New York, an expert on public employee bargaining, envisions complicated logrolling as members of Congress debate exemptions based on what laws they want preserved in their states.

Public employee unions have buried their internecine instincts temporarily and coalesced behind the legislative approach of extending the National Labor Relations Act to include public employees, rather than creating a new regulatory body. Both House and Senate are expected to hold further hearings as the momentum for a bill increases. And, four decades after the Wagner Act, public employees may gain federal protection—coincidentally—in the midst of the nation's greatest economic crisis since the Great Depression. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Castaways of History

THE LITTLE HOTEL. *By Christina Stead. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 191 pp. $6.95.*

BARBARA L. BAER

In her native Australia, Christina Stead's writing has long been valued as part of the national literary treasure. American readers today know her, if they do at all, as a one-book author. *The Man Who Loved Children* was the only Stead novel in print here until her reputation began growing with the aid of the women's movement, whose support, ironically, she would rather not have. Nevertheless, *The Man Who Loved Children* is appearing on reading lists for women's studies classes. *House of All Nations* has just come out in paper. And when *The Little Hotel* was announced this year, it seemed a good time to look once more at Christina Stead's work in print and to signal what is missing.

The Little Hotel, written thirty years ago, lay for decades in an old trunk; it came to light only recently as the novelist was packing up to leave London for the last time. She sent the typed manuscript as a personal gift, not as a submission, to her former British editor, Oliver Stallybrass, on Valentine's Day, 1972. Stallybrass found a publisher and served as the novel's editor.

The Little Hotel takes place in the late 1940s in Montreux, Switzerland. Its characters are obscure, forgotten folk, ailing or in hiding within the genteel but thin walls of a cheap pension-hotel called the Swiss Touring. While the men worry the bank clerks over falling exchange rates, the women eat, shop and gossip with the proprietress, Selda Bonnard, who becomes the novel's narrator by virtue of listening to their stories.

The mad "Mayor of B" (Brussels) is the wealthiest eccentric in this little community. His profits from wartime collaboration with the Germans are spent on champagne parties with the guests and servants, until one night he arrives impromptu wearing only a hat and muffler and is carted away to an asylum. Mme Blaise is a doctor's wife from Basel who hasn't removed her many layers of woolen clothing for years because she is afraid to be seen naked and aging by her younger husband. A tubercular spinster, dying in a room she can't pay for, is so afraid of the Labour government in Britain that she would rather starve than return home. Mrs. Lilia Trollope, a faded beauty out of the colonial East, distracts herself from her own worries—her lover of twenty-seven years won't marry her and her children won't speak to her until she's been made respectable—by accompanying a garrulous American "Princess" on shopping tours. These two ladies function as relief narrators when Mme Bonnard is unavailable.

Stead typically assembles her characters for a devastating, theatrical finale. In this novel, a last supper turns into a riot during which the major characters overeat and overtalk. The party's aftermath is the novel's conclusion. Miserably married—or liaisoned—couples split up. All the original guests are scattered to the four corners of the earth, and under it. The British invalid is put on a train for Zermatt; the American Princess sails for Latin America with a gigolo; the doctor's wife is found dead in suspicious circumstances; Mrs. Trollope, the novel's only real escapee, leaves her lover, who is doomed to wander the fringes of the shrinking Empire on the shrinking pound. Only Mme Bonnard is left to welcome a new season at *The Little Hotel.*

Although there are no great themes, no significant events and no literary experiments in *The Little Hotel*, the guests' own chatter reveals their characters—and their situation as the castaways of European history—with the same merciless accuracy that makes the conversations of Stead's more ambitious novels so riveting. *The Little Hotel* is an engaging though minor Stead novel.

Stead knew a wealth of people, and she took care to understand their social connections, their politics, their professions and their speech before using them in her fiction. She was as familiar with the Australian milieu of Socialist journalists and working-class women depicted in her first novel, *Seven Poor Men of Sydney*, as she was with their London counterparts in *Dark Places of the Heart*. She knew as much about the political import of the great banks in *House of All Nations* as she did the details of lace making and the lace trade necessary for writing *The Beauties and Furies*. When she took apart a marriage in *The Man Who Loved Children*, every detail of family life contributed to the conjugal war of attrition. In short, Christina Stead had and used an exceptionally wide canvas for her fiction.

Why was Stead so much more in the world of economics and politics than most women, and for that matter, most men who write fiction? In part it was circumstance. Stead herself worked in financial centers of Europe—first, in the late 1920s, as a clerk in a London bank, and then, in the early 1930s, as an *envoi extraordinaire*, traveling between European capitals. When she married William Blake (Blech), a banker, a Marxist journalist and a constant traveler himself, Stead's political sympathies crystallized in her novels, written wherever she could set up a typewriter. She typed on beds in German, Belgian, Spanish, Swiss, British and French hotel rooms too small to contain a desk. She rarely had a room of her own. She wrote in the back of banks or on tables just off newsrooms—within hearing of ticker tapes and stock quotations. Seldom was a book started and completed in the same place.

Stead and Blake were contributors to the radical New York press when they came to America in the late 1930s. Together they went to Hollywood to write for MGM but didn't last long. Besides all the European languages Stead had picked up, and without being Jewish herself, she learned Yiddish and translated Yiddish poetry into English. Over the past fifty years Stead has written constantly; she has published twelve books of fiction, several translations, many articles and stories and is the editor of two anthologies.

In most Stead novels, women who do not work waste their lives. Superfluous women cling to a humiliating dependency upon a man when they have no training that will allow them to leave and take a job. In her novels you can see Stead's women struggling, successfully or not, to free themselves from the biological and social roles imposed upon them. Mrs. Trollope, for example, receives her own money doled out in small change because her lover says she knows nothing about financial matters. When, nearly crazy from inactivity, she begs the maids to let her help them

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make the beds—just to do something!—Mrs. Trollope's lover is enraged at his mistress' affront to her class, and to him.

From the persistence of the theme of woman as a powerless being when she is dependent on a man, I assumed that Stead herself would welcome the emergence of a new generation of feminists and look favorably on the women's movement. Personal acquaintance with Christina Stead showed me the contrary.

I met Christina Stead several times in London in 1972 and corresponded with her from America until she left for Australia last year. My desire was often to talk "woman to woman" and pull answers from her about "our" conditions. That approach always drew a blank. Not only does Stead feel no particular reason to be considered a "woman's writer" but she absolutely is repelled by the idea that an audience of women is going to puff her up all of a sudden. Between remaining almost unread and being thrust forward as a feminist writer, she perhaps prefers the former.

Stead has a very select, piercing set of values. She refuses to take sides in her fiction or in private opinion on the basis of sex. As a political orientation, and a natural choice, she always opts for the exploited over the exploiters, for the poor over the rich, but not because the working people or the women are saintly and unselfish. In her novels, you feel that individual workers, and sometimes women, simply have more spunk, daring and social conscience than those individuals with wealth and power. The hideaway rich, whether bankers in *House of All Nations* or misers in *The Little Hotel*, are simply thrown aside by historical circumstances.

Nor does Stead seem to believe that a woman's condition or possibility for success is basically different from a man's. Men without a strong identification through their work are as powerless as women. "There are plenty of shy men, plenty of men who suffer from lack of love, lack of everything, just as women do. There are all kinds of both sexes. Some people are simply here to love, others to give love," she said, insisting that her fiction serves no cause and no movement.

According to the author, *The Man Who Loved Children* is no more than the chronicle of one family, her family. It is not about marriage as such. The father was her father; the stepmother, her own; the daughter, Louisa, herself as a child and adolescent. The stepmother, Henrietta Pollit, driven to suicide by the humiliation of repeated pregnancies she is powerless to prevent, "one of those women who sympathizes with all women against all men," is *not* representative of a woman's condition in general, Stead insists. Stead herself defends marriage as the best way to live, which the Pollits' marriage certainly was not.

Stead's feelings about marriage derive from the companionship she had in her own. Until his death a few years ago, William Blake was Stead's ally in the male world, her shield from unwanted publicity and her go-between with editors, publishers and the public. Blake appears as the complex, quixotic Marxist-businessman in several Stead novels, and most prominently as her savior in the only novel that is close to revealing her most intimate feelings as a mature woman.

For Love Alone came out in America in 1944 and went out of print a few years later. A new generation of women would respond strongly to it today for the conviction and passion of its writing. The heroine, Teresa Hawkins, after a bad love affair, leaves Sydney for London in search of the man who has spurned her. She falls ill, and like Stead herself begins a first novel believing she is dying and should leave some document behind her. Teresa's new employer, the manager of the bank

THE MIND AND THE CALENDAR

Trucks war torn, their eyes
Blinking in pain; blind,
Bending in sculptures we walk
Noting the changes of mind
Of the woman who set to her calendar
The mixing of autumn leaves.

Between telescoping lights she leaves
Fixing her eyes
To the rote of a calendar
She knows what the blind
Would say if in fact they mind
The anthills that burst from the walk.

The forest road awakens to the walk
Of our feet upon the leaves
That speak their mind
With colors in their eyes.
They are blind
Before the calendar.

We have searched the calendar
Seeking the timeliest walk;
At night our steps are blind
Scattering the leaves;
How short is the reach of our eyes
How light are the steps of the mind.

When morning clears the mind
Turning a page of the calendar
Stirring the ink in its eyes
We are babes that learn to walk
And men who learn to blind
Ourselves until the sun leaves.

The old man leaves
A fancy of the mind
Not seen by the blind
Or noted on their calendar
The grating on the sidewalk
Is not meant to please the eyes.

Blind men feel time with no calendar.
The mind travels where they cannot walk
And leaves the burning mysteries to their eyes.

Hugh Talat Halman

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where she has just found work, turns up with food at her flat. After nourishing the failing woman, he encourages her to continue writing, falls in love with her and revives her. Teresa owes her life and her novel to the man who valued her as a woman and an artist. The couple plans a life of political and literary work, and mutual freedom to be faithful or unfaithful to each other. In real life Stead had such a marriage with Blake, "who fell in love with me because he could count my ribs," she told me.

For Love Alone isn't the first novel in which a man has assisted at the second birth of a creative woman. However, that he continue to encourage her, once she is strong, to "permanent revolution" is as unusual in a marriage as in the body politic. *For Love Alone* is, I think, a rare book. It's a particularly sensual and intelligent account of one woman's turning the conflict between heart, sex and mind into a merger of love and work that must always be changing. As an important and moving chapter in the growing autobiographical history of woman's struggle to write, *For Love Alone* belongs with Kate Chopin's *The Awakening* and Doris Lessing's *The Golden Notebook.*

Christina Stead was still writing every day when she left for Australia to live with her family a year ago. The best news about her would be a really new novel. Until then, I hope that the publication of *The Little Hotel*—a small work—and the reissue of *House of All Nations*—a great one—means that Christina Stead is finding an American readership at last. □

Government by Assault Force

A TIME TO DIE. *By Tom Wicker. Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co. 342 pp. $10.*

ROBERT E. WALTERS

The Attica prison rebellion occurred in the autumn of 1971 when inmates seized fifty hostages. A portion of the prison was recaptured, but the fact that the prisoners in D-yard had hostages deterred the authorities from a quick rush. In the end, however, a bloody clash did occur, much to the surprise of everyone, including the inmates who were on the receiving end.

Tom Wicker, an associate editor and Washington correspondent of *The New York Times*, was suddenly called to the prison as an observer. This call, too, took people by surprise. But, like the Kent State shootings, the Attica revolt seemed to have happened spontaneously. There was no plan of action.

In a sense, Wicker's account of the Attica prison revolt is two books in one. Written in the third person, it is a personal story of his life—his growing-up in the small town of Hamlet, N.C. He is still quite proud of his Southern heritage, but he views that life with a critical eye. In the course of writing, he reveals his inner fears and secrets much in the manner of a novelist.

Wicker found himself immersed in life-and-death dealings between the inmates and the prison authorities. There were a number of issues of varying degrees of importance. A crucial point to the inmates in D-yard was that of amnesty for the violence committed in the course of the rebellion. After the death of William Quinn, a prison guard and the only person to die in the first phase, the issue of amnesty was impossible. Nonetheless, the observer group desperately tried to find some common ground.

In the long run, the central issue was the treatment of the inmates. Society ordains that people who commit crimes must go to prison. That is a policy that even some of the prisoners agree with, but the main point is whether or not prisoners have rights. Society does not, or at least not officially, condone torture or brutality. But how can this be prevented? That seemed to be the main thrust of the complaints from both white and black inmates. In the eyes of the rural population around Attica, the prisoners were almost of a different species. They were outcasts of society and hence could be treated accordingly.

In a conversation with an inmate named Flip Crowley, Wicker got a summary of the inmates' view: "I got a fair trial and a reasonable sentence. . . . So we're even, right? I did it. I'm in here for doing it. Fair and square, no complaints. Paying my debt to The Man. But, brother, you got to understand that's just the way it *ought* to be, that's not the way it *is*. That Man is committing crimes against *me* every day I'm here. And nobody's saying shit about that."

Inside the prison, the guards were the law, *de facto*. It was understandable that the prisoners did not trust the prison authorities. Russell Oswald, the Commissioner of Prisons in New York, tried to negotiate directly with the inmates in order to assure the safety of the hostages. However, the prisoners treated the hostages with excellent care under the circumstances. The prisoners had no guns but were armed with homemade weapons—what one would call, in the military sense, shock weapons. The guards and troopers surrounding the prisoners had the guns—the projectile-type weapons.

Nelson Rockefeller revealed his ignorance on a crucial point which dealt directly with the issues at stake. After the bloody assault, Rockefeller was asked whether he had reviewed the plans for the attack. "No, I'm not a military man nor a police official. These are professional judgments. . . . I do not feel I have the competence to make judgments and I think there's nothing more

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THIS IS A SMALL SONG

Eu canto porque o instante existe
Cecilia Meireles

It could sing
of the way branches
outside my window
dress and undress
season after season;
of their austere gesturing
across a winter sky,
the laughter of its leaves
in spring or

it could give itself
over to small subjects
whittling with honest strokes
a wooden spoon
or try
with an easy manner
to describe
a woman—aged but not old—
her hair in a bun
but with wisps falling to her cheeks
her face bright with sweat
working over a stove.

This is a small song
that has no subject
a small song that sings
for the sake of singing
it is a simple song
that has declared itself.

Ricardo da Silveira Lobo Sternberg

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dangerous than a civilian messing in military activities and trying to impose, superimpose, his judgments over those of professionals." What kind of nonsense is this? Where has he been living his life? Rockefeller takes the view that there is a strict dividing line between military and political matters. Clausewitz rightly pointed out that this is rubbish. Roger Leonard, in his introduction to *A Short Guide to Clausewitz*, wrote, "Certainly there should never be a point where policy ends and disappears from the stage and military action takes over." One is surprised, and indeed alarmed, that Wicker allowed this point to slip by without comment. The civilian, or statesman, must control military action in warfare, but it is even more important that in domestic affairs involving police or semi-military action the proper authorities have tight control. The attacking force seemed nothing more than an armed mob. If there was any discipline among the troopers, it is not revealed in Wicker's account. Interestingly enough, when the Attica revolt took place, Rockefeller was attending a meeting in Washington of the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. It would seem that Rockefeller is a most dangerous man to have on such boards.

In Wicker's view, Rockefeller is ultimately the villain of the story. The Governor's refusal to go to Attica when matters were at a stalemate was a prime factor in the slaughter. Wicker makes no secret of his views. Unfortunately, at this point, when one would expect a little elegance in the writing, Wicker's style stumbles. A rapier would have been useful here, but instead he hits Rockefeller on the head with a blunt instrument. Nonetheless, *A Time To Die* is an excellent and gripping account of a massacre that dramatized some appalling weaknesses in the fabric of our society. □

The New Black Criticism

THE WAY OF THE NEW WORLD: The Black Novel in America. *By Addison Gayle, Jr. Anchor Press/Doubleday. 339 pp. $10.*

SAUNDRA TOWNS

The South African poet Keorapetse Kgositsile has written that "the dead cannot remember even the memory of death's laughter." Those who do not know who they are—who do not keep in consciousness the story and meaning of their lives—are capable neither of understanding the present nor of preparing for the future.

It is the quest of men for self-knowledge and the concern of men for the preservation of that information from one generation to another that is at the heart of Addison Gayle's latest book, *The Way of the New World*. Mr. Gayle has long been in the vanguard of those who wish to use culture to redirect the lives of blacks in the United States. His ideas, like those of others with that aim, have been characterized as "separatism," "racism-in-reverse" and "racial chauvinism." Yet close examination reveals them to be far more complex than the simple desire for separation from American society. As articulated in *The Black Aesthetic*, the landmark collection of essays which Gayle edited in 1971, their intent is multi-dimensional. On a purely political level, the Black Aesthetic argues for the use of art to "expose the enemy, praise the people and support the revolution." That is, art is to be admittedly propagandistic, promulgating those ideas and values which will help blacks move toward independence from American society. Psychologically, its aim is to rid the black psyche of the dualism and lack of a sense of worth caused by a continual bombardment with images and symbols that posit white superiority and black inferiority.

Finally, there is the question of truth. For what the proponents of the Black Aesthetic are ultimately suggesting is that out of the African heritage and the experience of oppression in America, blacks have forged a history and a culture that is separate and distinct from that of whites.

Those are some of the ideological assumptions upon which *The Way of the New World* is based. In the context of literary criticism, the work is a departure from contemporary practice: although it is a history of the black novel (from 1853 to 1969), it is not the traditional explication of literature in terms of form and structure. Eschewing the tenets of the New Criticism, Gayle argues that literature is as much a product of the realities of human life as of the creative genius of the author. The attempt to dismiss the first ". . . would make of every novel, poem, or play a hodgepodge of gibberish. . . . The novel is the one genre which attempts in dramatic and narrative form to answer the questions, What are we? and What is it all about? . . . These are social questions. They comprise such an essential part of the makeup of the novel that the evaluation of such novels requires an understanding of the social, political and historical forces which produced them."

Having thus cleared the way for an evaluation of black literature on new terms, the author proceeds with a rich and deeply informed discussion of the development of the black novel in America. In it, he displays an awesome knowledge of both black and American history, of both black and American literature. The thesis which will be developed throughout the book is that the history of the black novel is ultimately the history of the struggle for artistic freedom. However, Gayle argues that the major barrier to achieving this goal is not, as has often been charged, the preoccupation of the black writer with race. Rather, it is the fact that he has not been free to examine his racial experience. The reasons for this have perhaps best been characterized by what W.E.B. Du Bois has called "psychic dualism," that unique cultural and historical position in which American blacks found themselves. As Gayle explains it: "Stripped of his language, the symbols, images and metaphors which had sustained him in the faraway home, he was forced, like a man come naked into the world, to measure himself by yardsticks fashioned by others and to face the wilderness without the most elemental of defenses—the capacity to utilize language to define his own experiences." The necessity for assimilating an alien language brought with it, in the case of blacks in the United States, the internalization of ideas designed to strip them of their humanity. This is particularly true in the area of literature. By the time the first black novel appeared in 1853, American literature had already created a system of definitions **vis-à-vis** blacks which "performed tasks comparable to those performed by leg irons, patrollers, overseers, and other paraphernalia of the institution of slavery."

Gayle's perspective on the political uses of literature is particularly interesting. In examining the ideas about blacks propounded in American literature for the last two centuries, he suggests that far from being "universals," or state-

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ments of enduring human truths, their ultimate function has been as intellectual rationalizations for the political actions of the country. To support his argument he points out that the images of blacks disseminated during slavery were of the savage and heathen; the post-bellum period depicted him as docile child, brute Negro or minstrel, thereby justifying "the institution of quasi-slavery to replace chattel slavery." In the early 20th century, during the Great Migration and the Harlem Renaissance, he was characterized as atavistic and promiscuous. The American Communist Party, in its turn, would try to make of him the universal symbol of oppression. Finally, during the height of the civil rights movement, contemporary white writers presented him as the symbol of sexual depravity and psychological deprivation.

On the one hand, then, the black writer was trapped by propaganda which sought to convince him of his own inferiority and of the superiority of the culture which was oppressing him. On the other, he was confronted by a purely black reality, one far different from the American fantasy. Gayle takes that reality as the basis of his analysis of the thought of serious blacks over the past two centuries. It is a rich and subtle discussion which brings to the fore the abolitionist-statesman Frederick Douglass, torn between moderation and the revolutionary philosophy of John Brown; Martin Delany, now recognized as the father of Black Nationalism; David Walker of *The Appeals*, and the feisty Henry Highland Garnet. The late 19th century produced the powerful Booker T. Washington with his accommodationist philosophy, and in opposition to him, the brilliant and irascible W.E.B. Du Bois, whose thought still influences the work of serious black writers. The 20th century was to bring forth Marcus Garvey, and later, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King and Imamu Baraka.

It is in this milieu that the black novel is spawned; from these conflicting realities the novelists seek to create their truths. Gayle suggests that their response to this situation can be characterized in two ways: assimilationist or nationalist. The assimilationist writers will, in the main, accept American definitions of the value and meaning of black life. However, they will qualify that acceptance, arguing for separate definitions for that small coterie of blacks who because of lighter skin color or material acquisitions approximate the aspirations of the American middle class. Although they will continually attack the pernicious racial practices of the country, their literature will generally reflect their desire for acceptance into the American mainstream. It is their concerns which were to dominate the black novel until well into the 20th century.

In contrast to the assimilationism of the middle-class writers, the author sets another, less frequently noted trend in black literature. It is a movement toward nationalism; that is, a tendency toward an examination in depth of the quality and meaning of black life from a perspective which finds inherent worth and beauty in blackness. It is this tendency which, finally, was to make possible the black novels of the 1970s.

The tradition begins with Martin Delany, who in *Blake, or the Huts of America*, creates the first revolutionary figure in black literature. He is also the first to call into question black acceptance of all American institutions—from slavery to the Christian church. After him, Charles Chesnutt, W.E.B. Du Bois and Sutton Griggs also wrote novels which evidence something less than total acceptance of American hegemony. However, it is not until the Harlem Renaissance that the possibilities inherent in a truly nationalistic literature are given their first serious examination. As Gayle explains, in commenting on James Weldon Johnson's *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*: "The problem posed by Johnson's portrait of the artist and the function of black art revolves, in the final analysis, around the question of definition. Is the black man to be defined in terms of the Euro-American experience or in terms of his own African history, both in America and abroad?"

Although the conservative members of the Renaissance continued to opt for Americanization, the younger writers—Langston Hughes, Claude McKay and Zora Neal Hurston—insisted that black art look for inspiration beyond the American imagists to the masses of black people. In so doing, "They were creators of a new tradition in black literature—one which centered for the first time exclusively upon those who neither materially nor physically could approach the American norm. This sense of distance between their people and the society depicted the men and women of their novels as rebels if only in . . . that they were antithetical, by the nature of their existence, to American standardization and sameness."

The new consciousness manifested during the Renaissance foreshadows the emergence, in 1940, of Richard Wright's *Native Son*. This apocalyptic novel, with its strangely existential denouement, holds a pivotal place in the history of black fiction. Gayle suggests that the creation of the character of Bigger Thomas, speaking as it does to the "race demon" in the black psyche, has now made it impossible for black writers to return

MISTAKEN IDENTITY

The man who ate mushrooms
And tried to crucify himself
Cutting a stake, piercing hands,
Then feet, then hanging on vines,
Then walking home and stabbing himself
With a two-inch knife didn't make it.

If he got higher he had sunk lower
But instead of giving was only getting
When in confusion he presented
Himself to himself as J. Christ
It was pathetic. So mushroom busted
The bastard blamed the world on his ills.

If he had given himself to others
Instead of giving himself to himself,
Blasted on the heath of misadventures,
He might have reset the delicate
Balance of nature unbalanced by tricky
Gestures, he might have vomited mushrooms,

But, prized by the spirit of overkill,
It almost got him over underkill
Whereupon he had proved that hell
Is the joke of time, and been no man.
He is walking around sewed up,
A man beginning all over again.

Richard Eberhart

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to the assimilationism of previous periods.

Those writers who immediately follow Wright—Chester Himes, Ann Petry and William Gardner Smith—reinforce his vision. Theirs, too, are realistic analyses of the terror and brutality of American society. Within the context of this new movement, the later novelists Ralph Ellison and James Baldwin become anachronistic. For although Ellison's protagonist finds beauty and superior human values in black life, he is unable, at the novel's end, to transcend his assimilationist longings and to embrace his own culture. Baldwin, on the other hand, is even more of a curiosity. Precedents for his characters are to be found not in the pages of the assimilationists but in the images of blacks made famous by Van Vechten's *Nigger Heaven.*

Nevertheless, the movement toward artistic independence continues. Thus, what unites the works of contemporary black novelists, writers as different in temperament as John Williams and John Killens, or Ernest Gaines and William Melvin Kelley, is their concern with the exploration of some aspect of the cultural heritage of their people—whether history, language or the values which have been forged from the black experience. In this sense, Gayle suggests that all of these contemporaries are legatees of the ideas spawned in the works of Martin Delany more than 120 years ago.

Upon closing the pages of *The Way of the New World,* one is struck by the fact that this is one of those works which so alters our understanding of reality that we are never quite the same afterward. There are probably many reasons for this. First, in departing from traditional literary history, Gayle has avoided the trap of creating yet another tedious and necessarily superficial compendium of novels written over the past century and a quarter. His choice of novels is admittedly selective, for he is more interested in examining trends of thought than in simply cataloguing what has been written. Second, in choosing a socio-historical rather than a structural approach to his subject, insisting that ideas are more important than the form which contains them, he has breathed new life into an area of literary study which has become sterile and mechanistic. Finally, and most important, he has formulated new criteria for the evaluation of black literature. For, in finding the value of a work in the degree to which it moves the tradition of the black novel, and consequently black thought and perception, away from the internalization of synthetic ideas and toward the exploration of the truth of black life, he has made possible—perhaps for the first time—a sensitive and intelligent understanding of the black novel in America. □

Slavery in Its World Context

THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY IN THE AGE OF REVOLUTION, 1770-1823. *By David Brion Davis. Cornell University Press. 576 pp. $17.50.*

CHRISTOPHER DELL

It is the tendency of lesser historians to oversimplify at every opportunity, especially when the facts become at all complicated or tend to work against a sought-after conclusion. Historians of consequence not only state the case without failing to mention all the important parts but are forever finding missing fragments, to the astonishment of everybody.

In writing *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture,* David Brion Davis provided enough astonishment to win the Pulitzer Prize for Nonfiction and other national awards. His most recent work, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823,* is equally astonishing, equally worthwhile.

The story of Negro slavery in America, as told by American historians, generally centers on the United States without much regard for neighboring slave cultures in the West Indies and Latin America. It has been the custom also to consider the struggle over slavery either as a moral or economic or legal or political problem—exclusively, one or another. In the same vein, it is customary to consider the revolutionary period of 1770-1823 as largely unrelated to the problems of slavery and race. Separation of such matters in historical presentation can be a grave mistake. It may be difficult to tell about so many things at once. But if it can be done it should be, and Professor Davis has done it with supreme ability.

In the process of convincing the reader of his stunning grasp of economics, politics, religion and the law, the author also undertakes an explanation of the pro-slavery and anti-slavery mentalities, with remarkable effect. A bewildering aspect of American political history is the supposed "anti-slavery" outlook of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, both of whom were themselves slaveholders and neither of whom took kindly to the cause of abolition. Any confusion arising from these conflicting factors is swept away by this presentation, wherein the anti-slavery sympathies of these distinguished figures are revealed as something in the nature of milk-and-water gruel.

Despite Washington's association with the cause of manumission and Jefferson's laudable attempt to stifle slavery in the territories, it would appear that in the final analysis both were swallowed by their own slaveholding traditions and by conservative alarums about the prospect of bloody slave revolts. Following the Santo Domingo uprising of 1791, neither Washington nor Jefferson was ever again to speak as a full-fledged opponent of the slavery cause. Actually, Jefferson was to wind up accusing the Federalists of harboring wicked anti-slavery designs which, in his opinion, were grounds for secession and disunion. So much for the vaunted "anti-slavery" contentions of the so-called "Virginia liberals."

The same sort of responses afflicted the "anti-slavery" leaders of the West Indies in this period—men like Bryan Edwards and Saint-Méry Moreau, who in the manner of Jefferson talked a very good anti-slavery line until the time came to set somebody free, whereupon they, too, began to stall and reconsider. Simón Bolívar, another hero of anti-slavery tradition, is also accorded some rough handling in this account, which makes him appear an opportunist.

A good case is made by the author for the claim that anti-slavery principles were all so new and unfamiliar in the period in question that conservatives in general were unable to regard them as legitimate. The task of securing widespread acceptance of the anti-slavery theme in that era was comparable, he avers, to seeking general approval of legislation today forbidding the paid employment of house servants.

Since they could not comprehend the reasoning of the anti-slavery argument, the friends of slavery were simply to conclude that the whole anti-slavery crusade was based upon deception; that not a single anti-slavery protest was genuine; that other, unspoken, sinister reasons must underlie the anti-slavery demands. The chapter on "What the Abolitionists Were Up Against" is a brilliant description of the issues involved here.

Despite a strong economics-oriented approach to many matters, the author strikes hard against the popular proto-

Christopher Dell is an analyst in history and public affairs at the Library of Congress, and the author of Lincoln and the War Democrats: The Grand Erosion of the Conservative Tradition *(Fairleigh Dickinson University Press).*

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Marxist contention that slavery in the United States was on the way out until the appearance of a workable cotton gin, in 1794. Having beaten Jefferson's plan for exclusion of slavery from the territories in 1783, and having threatened the accomplishment of union itself, in 1787, unless slavery were granted some kind of special guarantee, the pro-slavery faction was clearly unworried about the absence of cotton gins. Slavery was a matter transcending economics. It was the plaything of a self-declared aristocracy which did not feel comfortable without it.

Interesting comparisons are presented here, revealing identical reactions on the part of slaveholders in the United States and those in the West Indies (in addition to those of Hungarian noblemen resisting proposals for the freeing of the serfs). In every case, the sense of nationality succumbed to an overwhelming sense of property rights.

Pro-slavery contentions that the anti-slavery cause was basically an economic matter are dealt with extensively in this account. Although agreeing with the accusation to a limited extent (especially as applied to England), the author holds that other factors were also of the greatest significance, especially English and French legal and religious traditions, which were forever cropping up to nullify the economic power of the pro-slavery forces.

Pro-slavery contentions that the anti-slavery cause was suspiciously unconcerned about mistreatment of free white labor also are examined in detail. Such anti-slavery heroes as William Wilberforce come off rather badly in this regard, but no trend is apparent and the Quakers—as leading exponents of the anti-slavery faith—show to good advantage as the friends of every kind of labor.

The outstanding features of the book are the clear portrayal of the anti-slavery struggle as an uphill battle against overwhelming odds, and the thorough handling of conservative reactions to the crises presented by slavery and race. Anti-slavery radicals have often been singled out, both by friends and by critics, for close observation in this regard, while the conservatives have been largely left alone. It is satisfying in this case to see the process reversed by an observer so familiar with the facts and so talented at bringing them to bear. □

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

American artists are discontented that the curator of 20th Century Art at the Metropolitan Museum has given institutional approval to a British artist. Henry Geldzahler has staged a large show, "Recent Paintings, 1968-1974," by Francis Bacon. Conspiracy theories abound, because Bacon is represented by the Marlborough Gallery, whose competence is always at the edge of overreach and because of coincident publicity. It looked for a while as though *The New York Times* would never cease printing Bacon stories; one of them was negative but it, no less than the laudatory bits, gave him singular significance.

A book of interviews with Bacon by David Sylvester (*Francis Bacon*, Pantheon Books, $12.95) has just appeared and, again, its publication might seem part of a big push. However, the interviews were conducted in 1962, 1966, 1971, two in 1973 and one last year. The fact is that for years Sylvester had been expected to deliver this book: its

The Man Who Liked Everybody

HOLLYWOOD: Stars & Starlets, Tycoons & Flesh-peddlers, Moviemakers & Moneymakers, Frauds & Geniuses, Hopefuls & Has-beens, Great Lovers & Sex Symbols. *By Garson Kanin. The Viking Press. 393 pp. $8.95.*

ALVAH BESSIE

The word Hollywood retains such glamour, despite the fact that it no longer exists the way we have thought of it for almost fifty years, that this overpriced and adipose potboiler (2 lbs.) will probably sell.

What Garson Kanin has done is to paste up a series of Hollywood "stories" —not as the meretricious subtitle says, about "stars & starlets, tycoons & flesh-peddlers, moviemakers & moneymakers, frauds & geniuses, hopefuls & has-beens, great lovers & sex symbols"—but about a handful of the dead (such as Sam Goldwyn, Harry Cohn, Carole Lombard, Charles Laughton, John Barrymore and Judy Holliday) and some of the living who scarcely deserve the adjective.

Alvah Bessie is a screenwriter and critic who has also published four novels, three nonfiction narratives and many short stories and essays.

Kanin is of course an enormously successful man who has written and directed plays (*Born Yesterday*), musicals, films (*Adam's Rib*) and published stories, novels, short fiction and nonfiction, none of which will survive him, with the possible exception of the first title on this list which is now acceptable to high-school drama clubs.

He seems to have liked everybody or at least kept his dislikes quiet, for he finds Jack Warner—one of the outstanding Hollywood vulgarians—"a rough-talking vital man who loved to laugh," his ignoramus stooge Steve Trilling "amiable and receptive," and the unscrupulous Harry Cohn "attractive, magnetic and charming."

He is not only careful about what he has to say about such exploiters and nonentities but he is also careful about what he does *not* say. For example: he speaks of *his* first directorial success—*A Man to Remember*, which he says was "a small, inexpensive film, but unlike the usual run of B pictures [it] did not insult the intelligence."

In fact, he mentions it three times, comments on its success and what it did for him in The Industry—and he does not mention that it was written by Dalton Trumbo. One wonders why. □

LOOKING AHEAD

2084

By Herman Towne

A new dimension in futurology that emphasizes human relations —purposes, government, production, income, sexual morality, work, philosophy, crime, the arts, standard of living, language, boredom and dreams— a must for those concerned with the World to come.

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delay rather than its appearance is the remarkable feature. I understand the grounds for suspicion: in 1963, when I arranged a Bacon exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum, the zealous Marlborough Gallery tried hard to pay my fare to England, though the museum was well able to meet this expense. However, the suspect reputation of Bacon's gallery is not the only point at issue. Behind the ideological and cynical reading of the market, sharpened by New York chauvinism, what is the present status of Bacon's art?

In one way he resembles the American Abstract painters whom he despises. Like some of them he began his practice by staking out a highly legible and idiosyncratic area of painting and then burrowing within it. This way of working can have great initial impact but it can lead, as Frank Stella and Kenneth Noland have shown, to developmental problems. After the brilliant entrance comes a curious dilemma: the artist's own past becomes an act impossible to follow. Simple acts of complication have been resorted to by many strong starters, but Bacon has developed by doing more than play canasta, since merely adding endless zeros to rummy's originally modest scoring system is not really an answer. He has successfully diversified the narrow imagery of his striking early painting, finding a legitimate way to extend and elaborate his original insights.

Bacon used to be a tenebrous painter whose form sense and subject matter depended on a world in shadow. Porous forms emerged partially from dim fields, to be seen isolated or screaming, dressed-up or naked. The best of these pieces were I think confrontational: that is, the single figure confronted the spectator, who completed a circuit between himself and the painted image. After 1962 the shadows that had enveloped Bacon's figures contracted to squiggly puddles, like contracted nylon socks about to be kicked off. Dappled zones, bright planes and ripe fusions of paint characterize the later Bacon.

The new brightness of color and consequent clarity of form was not easily arrived at. Bacon had relied before on paraphrases of earlier painters (Velázquez, Van Gogh) and on solidly implanted echoes of Grand Manner portraiture. Without this ready-made structure his paintings of the earlier 1960s often flew apart. As color suffused the paintings the formerly glimpsed forms became monstrous rather than momentous, awkward rather than ominous. In the recent work at the Metropolitan, however, he has corrected the sense of gross distortion and is producing physically consistent human images again. He is best when the physical area of the canvas is fairly closely identified with the depicted space; that is to say, when the literal space and the signified space are aligned. Hence the importance to Bacon of locating his figures within delimited areas, such as rooms, fenced plots, podiums, surgical or gymnastic equipment, arenas —like the bullring—and beds. When space is thus stated, the picture becomes a sign of the containing space of the world occupied by distraught agents. In these serpentine and convulsed figures one can say that contrapposto has become a way of life. When his picture space is loose, like a sample of a larger field, or when the figures appear to generate their own space, his forms become contorted or amorphous.

The way that artists paint flesh involves their deepest concepts of the human body. Bacon's way of doing it is interesting for its metaphors. In color, his flesh is usually tumescent, the whole body appearing flushed and engorged. Its substance, however, is highly malleable, as foldable and stretchable as foam rubber. Thus his flesh painting includes poles of stability and elasticity that make the skin appear to be flowing, like a speeded-up film. Usually the effect of time on a body is slower than our attention span can recognize, but Bacon has found images whose mobility suggests an endless slide to mortality.

Geldzahler places Bacon with "Giacometti, Balthus, Picasso and Magritte" for their "memorable figuration." That word, figuration, is a way of talking about examples of art that depict the world, but not in terms that can be called naturalistic or realist. When Abstract painting was in undisputed critical dominance, art with images of the world in it needed the cover such a word provided. However, we have now experienced a Realist revival and it is against this that we must see Bacon's work. He seems not to be a Realist but an image maker working in a period of abstraction. He shares with Giacometti and de Kooning two characteristics: human imagery that persistently evokes associational readings, and a highly developed sense of materials.

Bacon has always dismissed any references to "the human condition" as his theme, but he likes Nietzsche and, compared to the specificity of Realism, he does, like de Kooning in the "Women" paintings, generalize his imagery. Since he rejects the notion of political art (see

BESIDE THE BARN

All summer water drips here, clear
drop by drop, imagining
itself and being—first
its worn green and brown brass tap
that seems to prop the gray barnside,
then all the sky and free
fall in the measureless air,
and last, its radiant, fair
continual measure of summer: Toc,
toc, toc, *it times itself.*
Near, the forest gathers, green,
tall. The meadow lies between,
bright with day. Step, step,
the water walks to earth, down
pure blades of light to blades of grass,
stem to root and dark, its deep
secret gathering. And somewhere,
flowing forth: wellspring. The water works
its own midwifery, its own
devoted husbanding, its cool source
and spell. Let all who drink it dream
its high flight and crystal swell
and still, shadowing glide
and smallest place in petal, nook,
and rainbow rush and white sleep,
and dream of drinking always water, thank
water—lake, river, pond, pool—
make love of it, make of it love.

Anthony Ostroff

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Sylvester's interviews), we are left with his art as the projection of a world view based on a sense of change and death. His main defense against this sententious reading is his insistence on being just a painter. There is a notion of the live medium as a defense against illustration. Both de Kooning and Bacon are on record as sponsoring "accidents" in their work as a way of self-transcendence. In fact, the significance and extent of Bacon's improvisatory passages (smears, splashes, cancelings out) have been overstated by the artist. They occur naturally without interruption within the exercise of the painterliness that both Bacon and de Kooning accept. However, the mystique they give the intervention of the material, in which creative act equals existential gesture, confirms the sense of the disastrous human condition that everybody except the artists feels in their work. □

RECORDS

DAVID HAMILTON

MOZART: Symphonies Nos. 29, 31, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41; Overtures to *Don Giovanni* and *Le Nozze di Figaro*. London Philharmonic Orchestra; Sir Thomas Beecham, cond. Turnabout THS 65022/6. $19.90 (five discs; mono; recorded 1934, 1937-40).

Recorded performances don't change, of course. But listeners do, and so performances can mean different things at different times, even to the same listeners. In the decade before LP records, these Beecham recordings were the standard versions of the Mozart symphonies; the conductor's rhythmic panache and avoidance of sentimentality did much to dispel the then-prevalent image of the works as primarily lightweight and euphonious.

Coming back to these recordings in this new, well-engineered reissue, one is immediately struck by the boxy acoustics (once upon a time, these were considered outstanding examples of recorded orchestral sound) and by a degree of string portamento no longer fashionable, as well as some shaky playing and intonation (notably in Symphony No. 39). The best of the string playing remains brilliantly articulated, however, with staccato runs an especial delight, each single note not merely present and accounted for, but alive to its propulsive function, even on those occasions when the conductor succumbs too readily to the pleasures of the chase. Many modern recordings (not Mr. von Karajan's) share this virtue, however, and are registered in warmer, better balanced sound.

No longer unique, no longer as prepossessing as they once were, these performances do stand up well in one historically significant comparison: after the war, Beecham remade the last six symphonies (Odyssey 32 36 0009) with his new orchestra, the Royal Philharmonic—and with an overlay of finicky and sometimes sentimental phrasings, especially in slow movements. The two recordings of the final cadence of the slow movement in Symphony No. 41, for example, constitute a precise auditory definition of the difference between simplicity and affectation. The renewed circulation of the London Philharmonic versions thus does serve to remind us of what Beecham's Mozart was originally, in its most influential days.

Another batch of Beecham reissues, from Odyssey, includes several valuable items (all in mono, recordings from the early 1950s with the Royal Philharmonic): two discs of Delius (Y 33283 and Y 33284) and two of Berlioz (*Harold in Italy*, with William Primrose, on Y 33286, and a batch of overtures, on Y 33287) are particularly recommended, as is the admirably processed imported EMI reissue of the last twelve Haydn symphonies (SLS 846, seven discs, including the famous record of Beecham in rehearsal).

TCHAIKOVSKY: *The Nutcracker* (complete ballet). Bolshoi Theatre Orchestra; Gennady Rozhdestvensky, cond. Columbia/Melodiya M2 33116. $13.96 (two discs). National Philharmonic Orchestra; Richard Bonynge, cond. London CSA 2239. $13.96 (two discs).

"Infinitely worse than *The Sleeping Beauty*," was Tchaikovsky's verdict on this score, and in truth the early portions are merely professional. With the second act and the Kingdom of Sweets, however, his orchestral imagination was clearly seized, and the divertissements (not only those too familiar from the *Nutcracker Suite*) are carried out with wit and color—although perhaps the overuse of the then-novel celesta in the final pages might be noted as a single flaw in the delicious scoring. The Russian band plays with more verve, less polish; the (presumably) British one, much more smoothly recorded, generates markedly less rhythmic excitement and gestural character, thus less sense of the theatre.

Other recommended recordings:

BEETHOVEN: Piano Sonatas Nos. 23 in F-minor, Op. 57, and 32 in C minor, Op. 111. Alfred Brendel. Philips 6500 138. $7.98.

Piano Sonatas Nos. 24 in F-sharp, Op.

SAN FRANCISCO BROTHER

Remember yesterday when you fell on the barbed wire fence
and father wouldn't take you to the hospital,
the drunken times when speech meets were forgotten
and special shoes for your bent feet, disgusting?
Is that when your walls began?

Remember that day mother hit him on the back of the head with a tomato?
You tried to pull them apart because of a twisted arm,
your grey twelve year old body not even strong enough
to run to the clothes line to wrap around
the freckled tears, it would only catch your own,
asking me with your eyes if I hated him as much as you.

Remember the times we picked the wild asparagus stalks
that grew between the lilac bushes,
part of the life in the grey house with the orange walls.
Your room had walls like fences that I could creep through
but the slats closed when I was caught half way
and your snapped thumbs meant nothing to the weakness.

Tell me brother,
what do you see when you look out of your sterile San Francisco windows,
is it only the streets you see?
Now that you have given in to the walls
will you ever be able to find
those times I ached for you like a broken limb?

Annemarie Savage

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78, and 29 in B-flat, Op. 106 ("Hammerklavier"). Alfred Brendel. Philips 6500 139. $7.98.

BERG: *Lulu* Suite. Anja Silja, soprano; Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra; Christoph von Dohnanyi, cond. London OS 26397. $6.98 (with Strauss: *Salome*—Final Scene).

Wozzeck. Soloists: Schola Cantorum; New York Philharmonic; Dimitri Mitropoulos, cond. Odyssey Y2 33126. $7.98 (two discs, mono; recorded at concerts, 1951).

SCHOENBERG: *Pierrot Lunaire*, Op. 21. *Kammersymphonie*, Op. 9 (arr. Webern). Mary Thomas, soprano; The Fires of London; Peter Maxwell Davies, cond. Unicorn RHS 319. $6.95.

Piano Music. Paul Jacobs. Nonesuch H 71309. $3.98.

WOLF: *Mörike-Lieder* (selections). Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, baritone; Daniel Barenboim, piano. Deutsche Grammophon 2709 053. $23.94 (three discs). □

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FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

The Passenger is Antonioni's most enticing film, as it will almost certainly be the most popular. That is so partly because of its content, partly because of its manner. It is constructed on one of the most reliable of melodramatic situations—a man escapes from his perplexities by assuming the identity of a chance companion who has conveniently died, only to discover that this alter ego was beset by dangerous problems of his own. And Antonioni has chosen to dress this tale in ellipses, coincidences, ironies and double meanings to create a sense of bafflement that chimes with the uncertainty that contemporary society appears to have absorbed from the data of theoretical physics. One is reminded again that Antonioni is, among directors, a leading spokesman for the Age of Ambiguity.

The air of profundity assumed by the film strikes me as dubious, in that it does not stem from the events and persons themselves but from the cinematic technique. It may be true that we are all uncomfortably aware that the ground of reality, and more particularly of morality, is unsteady beneath us, but to capitalize on this pervasive malaise by jiggling an ingenious but essentially conventional chase story with crafty camera angles, overlapping time frames, enigmatic cutting and a dialogue sometimes stiff with significance puts a director in danger of seeming more fashionable than profound.

However, granting Antonioni his pretensions, *The Passenger* is splendid entertainment. The title I take to be ironic. Locke (Jack Nicholson), a celebrated TV foreign correspondent, comes to the end of his emotional resistance when he is unable to make contact with guerrilla fighters somewhere in the Sahara. He thereupon swaps credentials and baggage with the convenient corpse mentioned above and determines to ride along in passive incognito for a time. But when he examines the dead man's papers his reporter's curiosity is aroused, and when he begins to move as certain memoranda indicate the other would have moved, contacts are made. Locke, in the guise of the late, enigmatic Robertson, is no longer drifting free, a mere passenger, but purposefully on the track of a story again.

Or so he thinks. In fact, he is being driven from behind by the memory of his wife's contempt for the venality of his profession, and he soon teams up with a girl (Maria Schneider), who is vagabonding through Europe, and who urges him to press forward with the mission in which the dead man believed. Since what Robertson believed in was selling arms to insurgents, Locke is soon more pursued than pursuing. He is a passenger in a particularly grim sense: he is being taken for a ride.

Nicholson plays a resourceful man who has exhausted his resourcefulness with the easy eloquence that characterizes his acting. Since the early performances of Brando, no American screen actor has had Nicholson's almost hypnotic gift of being absolutely *present*. As with Brando, it is almost impossible to take your eyes from him, even when he seems to be doing nothing. And Schneider's gangling competence, her air of precocious worldliness sustained by a good brain and lashings of bravado, are compelling in their own way. What she and Nicholson are doing is melodrama, but the way they go about it is frequently witty. If Antonioni had not insisted that they also be symbols of what ails us, their first appearance together could have been sensational. In any case, it is good enough to win medals, and will undoubtedly do so.

A good deal is being said about the visual treats in this film (like so many European films these days, *The Passenger* offers a luxury travelogue of celebrated architecture and breath-taking panoramas). Of course, Antonioni has always been one for picturesque photography, but I wonder whether, when the audience is provoked to oohs and ahs, the scenery may be stealing the show. At one point, Locke says to Robertson, "I prefer people to landscape"; it is not obvious that Antonioni would agree. From time to time, as the camera was ravishing my eyes, I was reminded of a waiter I once had in a French provincial restaurant, who put each dish before me with a beaming, emphatic "*Voilà!*" The food was not at all bad, but the *esprit* worked against the flavor. I wish Antonioni could be a little less ostentatious with his post cards. □

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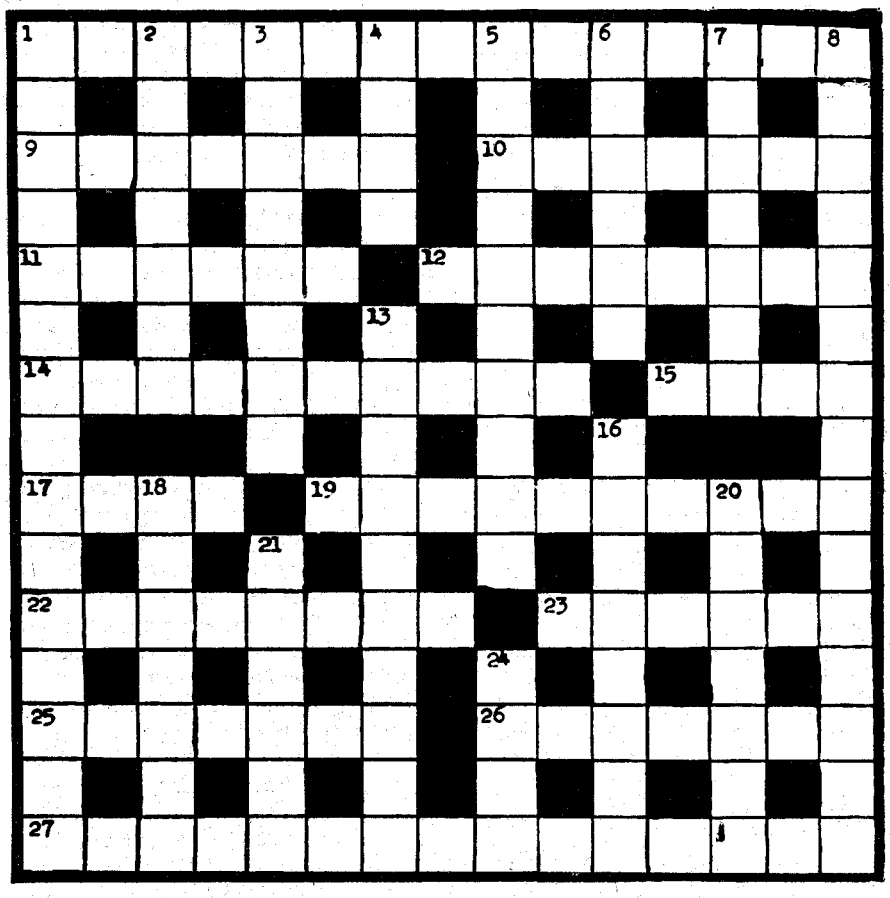
Crossword Puzzle No. 1582

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 You shouldn't get a rise out of this from the unvenerable dead. (10,5)
9 Behaves like Poirot. (7)
10 It might turn up after one's ancestors lost something. . . . . (7)
11 . . . . . only so! (6)
12 Doesn't follow the advice of one of the three monkeys. (8)
14 Two such pieces to buck with a hold-all far removed from it. (4-6)
15 Worn by some military types to take pictures showing it. (4)
17 If the building type is broken, it wouldn't be secret! (4)
19 The old commentators get out of his class to make it. (10)
22 They might be held by salvers. (8)
23 Found in Chicago, Utica, and parts of Central and South America. (6)
25 Golfer in obvious but backward surroundings with it. (7)
26 Some worry felt about the business? (7)
27 Implying red is more likely to come up with this risky game? (7,8)

DOWN

1 Inferior to the game token, according to some shady transaction. (5,3,7)
2 Perhaps pass afterwards, almost all at the end. (7)
3 Sir, if you want to be called that, get someone high up to give it to you. (8)
4 No eager demand in such a market. (4)
5 What Lady Macbeth seemed to need? (10)
6 If the rug is hot and dirty, you'd better! (4,2)
7 The building is only partly finished, if I cease. (7)
8 Comic sense cited as being responsible for what boys, as well as girls, now take. (8,7)
13 Sloe is colorless over the unsettled north. (10)
16 UTLLOGEE is one, if you've finished this. (8)
18 Point left, if you do. (7)
20 His is probably not a classless society. (7)
21 A sign of multiple birth? (6)
24 Sound returns with it. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1581

ACROSS: 1 Hold your tongue; 9 Moselle; 10 Batista; 11 Odorously; 12 Inapt; 13 Tressed; 15 Achieve; 16 Explode; 18 Sets out; 20 Amaze; 21 Stringent; 23 Grenade; 24 Zhivago; 25 Bucket brigades. DOWN: 1 Home on the Range; 2 Lissome; 3 Yellowstone Park; 4 Users; 5 Tabby cats; 6 Notwithstanding; 7 Upstage; 8 Battle stations; 14 Dressiest; 17 Plateau; 19 Operand; 22 Razor.

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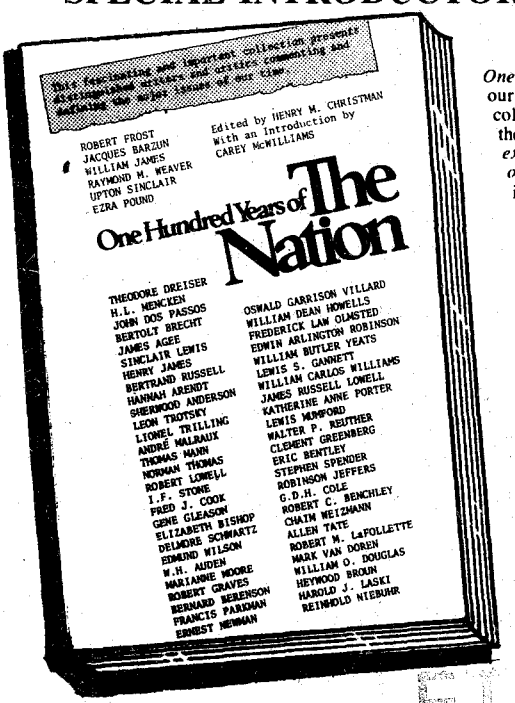

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